COLLECTANEA

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FIRST SERIES

Richard Barnfield, Marlowe, and Shakespeare
Ben Jonson's Method of Composing Verse
John Webster and Sir Philip Sidney
Edmund Spenser, "Locrine," and "Selimus"
The Authorship of "Arden of Feversham"

By *CHARLES CRAWFORD*

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TO

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THIS VOLUME IS GRATEFULLY
INSCRIBED

BY

THE AUTHOR

PREFACE

With the exception of the article on *Arden of Feversham*, which appeared in the *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, 1903, all the papers in this volume were printed in *Notes & Queries*; and I gladly embrace this opportunity of tendering my very hearty thanks to Mr. Joseph Knight and Dr. Wolfgang Keller for publishing them, as well as for their constant encouragement and appreciation of my slight but painstaking efforts to do some useful work.

Whether I have succeeded in my labour is a point which I must leave to be determined by those who are competent to judge: all that I claim now is that there is an ample field open for discovery in literature by the aid of parallels, judiciously selected; and I venture to refer to the information they reveal in these papers as a sample of what can be accomplished by this class of evidence when it is sought for with humble diligence, some knowledge, and a mind not swayed by preconceived notions, or a desire to be at one with the opinions of most men.

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In his address "To the curteous Gentlemen Readers," prefixed to his *Cynthia*, which appeared in 1595, Barnfield informs us that the poem was his "second fruites," his first being *The Affectionate Shepheard*, printed in November, 1594, when he was only about twenty years of age. He is careful to lay stress on these facts, because two other "books" had appeared anonymously and had been ascribed to him. These "books" were, according to his statement, too well known to need naming; and he disowned them, not because they were "dislik't," but because he did not wish to have his name used in connexion with the work of other writers. Some have thought that the books alluded to are *Greenes Funeralls*, 1594, and *Orpheus his Journey to Hell*, 1595. But, as has been pointed out, the latter poem could hardly have been in Barnfield's mind at the time he published his *Cynthia*, for it was not registered in the Stationers' books till 26 August, 1595, or more than six months after *Cynthia*, which was registered in January of the same year. How-

ever, it seems quite certain that, whatever books are referred to, they contained matter resembling Barnfield's *Affectionate Shepheard*, and that the coincidences of phrasing and other likenesses in the three "books" caused critics of the time to believe that Barnfield was responsible for each of them. It is also certain from Barnfield's preface that he had produced no writing of any kind previous to the publication of his *Affectionate Shepheard*. What book or books, then, did Barnfield refer to, and what ground had contemporary critics for believing him to be their author?

It is a remarkable fact that whole passages of *The Affectionate Shepheard* are written in seeming imitation of isolated passages of Marlowe's tragedy of *Dido*; and that it repeats, except for a small verbal change, a whole line of the same author's *Edward II.* The passages in *Dido* and *Edward II.* exhibit a very peculiar and dainty style, and this style is precisely that of Marlowe's beautiful song "Come live with me and be my love." If one were content to limit the inquiry to *Dido*, or did not know that Barnfield's poem repeats the language and sentiments of other pieces known to have been written by Marlowe, it would naturally be supposed that Barnfield had seen and been impressed by what he had read of the

unfinished tragedy; but a wider view of the subject would, I think, inevitably lead to one of two conclusions: (1) Either Marlowe and Barnfield borrowed from a common source, or (2) Marlowe wrote a poem in elaboration of his song "Come live with me," &c., and Barnfield imitated it.

I elect to believe that the latter is the correct conclusion; for I have yet to learn that the style of Marlowe's song is borrowed from another writer. Its popularity with contemporaries is an argument in favour of the freshness of its vein at the time it appeared; and it is well known that it had a host of imitators, amongst them being Donne and Herrick. It is said, too, that the poem attracted the attention of no less a personage than Sir Walter Raleigh, who is credited with writing the reply to it which appeared in *England's Helicon*, 1600.

Briefly, then, I believe that Marlowe wrote a poem in elaboration of his song; that he utilized its materials in his plays, especially in *Dido*; and that Barnfield copied from this poem, which has been lost or remains unidentified.

Barnfield, like all, or nearly all, other writers of his time, was very imitative, and he was not only an ardent disciple of Edmund Spenser, to whom he admits his obligations, but he pilfered rather freely

from Shakespeare's *Venus* and *Lucrece*. Those who run may read Spenser frequently in Barnfield; but his obligations to Shakespeare apparently have escaped notice, and therefore I shall draw attention to some of his borrowings in this paper. Hence Barnfield, who copied and imitated Spenser and Shakespeare, would be likely to copy Marlowe. In any case he borrowed from somebody portions of the material he uses in *The Affectionate Shepheard*, and in doing so he exactly repeats Marlowe's plays, which, of course, were in existence at least twelve months before Barnfield began to write.

To return to Barnfield's preface to his *Cynthia*, he there also informs us that *The Affectionate Shepheard* is but an imitation of Virgil's Eclogue II., to Alexis. But if the reader compares Barnfield and Virgil he will find that beyond the conceit of describing the love of an old man for a youth there is little in the two pieces to suggest imitation. Indeed, if Barnfield had entitled his poem "Come live with me and be my love," he would have described it accurately; for the theme he handles was not uncommon at the time, and the reference to Virgil seems far-fetched.

The youth of Barnfield's poem is named Ganymede. Is not it a little singular that portions of this

poem should follow speeches in *Dido*, addressed to another Ganymede, the beloved of Jupiter?

> *Jupiter.* From Juno's bird I'll pluck her spotted pride,
> To make thee fans wherewith to cool thy face.
>
> "Dido," Dyce, p. 251, col. 2.

> With Phœnix' feathers shall thy face be fann'd,
> Cooling those cheeks, that being cool'd wax red,
> Like lillies in a bed of roses shed.
>
> "The Aff. Shep.," Arber, p. 14.

The last line of Barnfield is stolen from Spenser,

> And in her cheekes the vermeill red did show
> Like roses in a bed of lillies shed.
>
> "Faerie Queene," book ii. canto iii. stanza 22.

Again, Barnfield's old man promises his Ganymede many gaudy toys and other things

> If thou wilt be my boy, or else my bride.
>
> Arber, p. 14.

The line, of course, recalls the burden of Marlowe's song, as it also does the following:

> *Ganymede.* I would have a jewel for mine ear,
> And a fine brooch to put in my hat,
> And then I'll hug with you an hundred times.
> *Jupiter.* And shalt have, Ganymede, if thou wilt be my love.
>
> "Dido," Dyce, p. 252, col. 1.

It is possible, then, that this poem which I suppose Marlowe to have written was similar in theme

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to that of Barnfield's, and that its youth was named Ganymede. Moreover, it is probable that Marlowe may have written it as a preparatory exercise for *The Tragedy of Dido.*

I will again compare Barnfield with *Dido*, and leave the reader who is interested in following out such resemblances to a perusal of the play and the poem; for he will find much more in them than I can find space to tell.

The Nurse in *Dido* wheedles the young Ascanius into following her by her enticing description of the orchard attached to her house:—

> I have an orchard that hath store of plums,
> Brown almonds, services, ripe figs, and dates,
> Dewberries, apples, yellow oranges;
> A garden where are bee-hives full of honey, &c.
>
> "Dido," p. 269, col. 2.

> Then would I lead thee to my pleasant bower
> Fill'd full of grapes, of mulberries, and cherries;
> Then shouldst thou be my wasp or else my bee.
>
> . . . .
>
> Or if thou dar'st to climb the highest trees
> For apples, cherries, medlars, pears, or plums,
> Nuts, walnuts, filberts, chestnuts, services,
> The hoary peach, when snowy winter comes;
> I have fine orchards full of mellowed fruit.
>
> Arber, pp. 8 and 9.

Again, note how Barnfield and Marlowe describe a grove or arbour:—

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Venus. Now is he fast asleep; and in this grove,
Amongst green brakes, I'll lay Ascanius,
And strew him with sweet-smelling violets,
Blushing roses, purple hyacinths:
These milk-white doves shall be his centronels, &c.
"Dido," p. 259, col. 2.

And in the swelt'ring heat of summer-time,
I would make cabinets for thee, my love;
Sweet-smelling arbours made of eglantine
Should be thy shrine, and I would be thy dove.
Cool cabinets of fresh green laurel-boughs
Should shadow us, o'er-set with thick-set yews.
Arber, p. 8.

As a matter of fact, Barnfield's poem repeatedly reminds one of Marlowe's song and play; and in the following instance it copies, or nearly copies, a remarkably fine line of the opening scene of *Edward II.*:—

And in the day, when he shall walk abroad,
Like sylvan nymphs my pages shall be clad;
. . . .
Sometimes a lovely boy in Dian's shape,
With hair that gilds the water as it glides,
Crownets of pearl about his naked arms, &c.
Dyce, p. 184. col. 1.

I would put amber bracelets on thy wrists,
Crownets of pearl about thy naked arms, &c.
Arber, p. 8.

A few lines further on Barnfield has

And when it pleaseth thee to walk abroad, &c.,

which looks like a mere repetition of the first line

just quoted from *Edward II.* And so on throughout the poem we constantly meet with conceits and phrases that can be found in almost the same form scattered throughout Marlowe's work. In *Tamburlaine*, for instance, is the following:—

> *Tamb.* Like to Flora in her morning's pride,
> Shaking her silver tresses in the air,
> Rain'st on the earth resolved pearl in showers.
>
> Part I, V. i. p. 32, col. 2.

Compare with *Cynthia*:—

> And raining down resolved pearls in showers.
>
> Arber, p. 49.

The whole of such passages in Marlowe are in the same vein, and they stand out clearly from their contexts, just as if they had once formed part of a poetical composition resembling the *Fragment* which Dyce quotes from *England's Parnassus* in Marlowe's *Works*, p. 382, and which was attributed to Marlowe by the author of the anthology. They seem to have been copied into the plays to give colour and tone to the speeches. It seems to me, then, that Barnfield copied his bits of Marlowe from a lost poem by the latter, written in elaboration of the song "Come live with me," &c., and that this poem may be the one that is partly known to us under the name of *A Fragment*. Consequently the *Fragment* is, perhaps, only a portion of one of the books disowned by Barnfield.

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That Barnfield could have pieced together from the plays such bits of Marlowe as can be traced in his poem, and that he should have hit upon the idea of putting them into a piece which is neither more nor less than a bald imitation of Marlowe's beautiful song, appear to me to be propositions that are quite untenable. Neither do I think it is possible that Marlowe and Barnfield borrowed from a common source, but rather that, being struck by the popularity which his song had attained, Marlowe elaborated it with particular reference to the fable of Jupiter and Ganymede, and was then imitated by his less-known contemporary. Marlowe used his *Hero and Leander* and his translations in the same way as I suppose him to have used the missing poem in this case.

If it were not for the circumstance that his name has been associated with that of Shakespeare, Barnfield and his work would almost have died out of memory, and only scholars who make a special study of Elizabethan literature would be aware that he ever had an existence; and even to-day it is not a settled question as to whether or not the association of his name with that of the great dramatist is thoroughly warranted. In 1599 there appeared a collection of poems by various writers, which the

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publisher, for purposes of trade, entitled *The Passionate Pilgrim* and assigned wholly to Shakespeare. The writers of some of these poems have been identified; and with regard to two other pieces, an ode and a sonnet, it is surmised, and I think rightly, that they are from the pen of Barnfield. Hence the coupling of Shakespeare and Barnfield. The association cannot but be flattering to Barnfield's memory, for it has given him a dowry of immortality which his work, pleasing and clever as at times it is, could never otherwise have obtained for him. It remains for me to show that there is yet another reason why Barnfield's name should be linked with Shakespeare's, for I find he was a diligent student of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, and actually copied and imitated the two poems as early as 1594, or within a month or two of the publication of *Lucrece*, which was not passed through the Register's Books until 9 May of the same year. As no earlier imitation of Shakespeare's work has been found than that which I shall reveal in Barnfield, we may claim the latter to be the first of his contemporaries to voice the praise of Shakespeare by imitating him. The discovery cannot fail to be of interest to scholars; and as it serves to strengthen the association between Barnfield and Shakespeare, as well as to throw light on

the influences at work in the minor poet's writings, the parallels deserve to be placed on permanent record.

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Barnfield not only imitated Shakespeare's poems, but he alludes to them more than once in his work. In a piece entitled *A Remembrance of some English Poets* he thus praises them:

> And Shakespeare thou, whose hony-flowing Vaine,
> (Pleasing the World) thy Praises doth obtaine,
> Whose Venus, and whose Lucrece (sweete and chaste)
> Thy name in fames immortal Booke have plac't.
> Live ever you, at least in Fame live ever:
> Well may thy Bodye dye, but Fame dies never.
>
> Arber, p. 120.

It is curious to note how fond Barnfield was of the phrasing and sentiment in the last two lines. They occur again, in almost the same form, in six other places in his work. In *The Affectionate Shepheard* is this parallel:—

> But Fame and Vertue never shall decay;
> For Fame is toombles, Vertue lives for aye.
>
> Arber, p. 18.

And these two lines are repeated word for word at the end of *The Complaint of Chastitie*.

Although there is ample evidence to prove that *Lucrece* exerted a very powerful influence over many portions of Barnfield's work, it is nevertheless remarkable that very few expressions from *Lucrece* can be found in his poems. He avails himself freely of

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ideas and similes from *Lucrece*, but not unseldom he clothes them in words that are manifestly borrowed from the *Venus*. Take *The Complaint of Chastitie* as a case in point. Its theme is that of *Lucrece*, and the speaker rails at Lust in exactly the same manner as Lucrece rails "at Opportunity, at Time, at Tarquin, and uncheerful Night." In *Cassandra*, too, the leading ideas of *Lucrece* are manifest at a glance; and the description of Cassandra in her bed, and the poetical conceit of Phœbus gazing at her whilst she sleeps, and noting her beauties, recall at once the visit of Tarquin to Lucrece's chamber and Shakespeare's description of the bed and its tenant. In *The Complaint of Chastitie*, published November, 1594, I have been unable to find a single verbal parallel with *Lucrece*, except one which might be accidental, and which only repeats a saying that is common in writers of that time. But the poem, short as it is, is packed with expressions from the *Venus*. Here are a few :—

> Monster of Art, Bastard of bad Desier,
> Ill-worshipt Idoll, false Imagerie, &c.
>
> "The Complaint."

> Fie, lifeless picture, cold and senseless stone,
> Well-painted idol, image dull and dead,
> Statue contenting but the eye alone.
>
> "Venus," stanza 36, ll. 211-3.

Sly Bawd to Lust, Pandor to Infamie.
"The Complaint."

When reason is the bawd to lust's abuse.
"Venus," stanza 132, l. 792.

Thou setst dissension twixt the man and wife.
"The Complaint."

And set dissension 'twixt the son and sire.
"Venus," stanza 194, l. 1160.

Those times were pure from all impure complection, &c.
"The Complaint."

To mingle beauty with infirmities,
And pure perfection with impure defeature, &c.
"Venus," stanza 123, ll. 735-6.

In *Cassandra*, however, we meet with expressions taken indifferently from the *Venus* and *Lucrece*, although those from the former preponderate, as they do throughout Barnfield's work:—

Yoaking his armes about her Ivory necke.
"Cassandra," Arber, p. 70.

And on his neck her yoking arms she throws.
"Venus," stanza 99, l. 592.

Looke how a brightsome Planet in the skie,
(Spangling the Welkin with a golden spot)
Shootes suddenly from the beholders eie,
And leaves him looking there where she is not:
Even so amazed Phœbus, &c.
"Cassandra," p. 71.

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Look, how a bright star shooteth from the sky,
So glides he in the night from Venus' eye.
"Venus," stanza 136, ll. 815-6.

Then angry Phœbus mounts into the skie:
Threatning the world with his hot-burning eie.
"Cassandra," p. 71.

And Titan, tired in the mid-day heat,
With burning eye did hotly overlook them.
"Venus," stanza 30, ll. 177-8.

Whose deadly damp the worlds poor people kils.
"Cassandra," p. 71.

Look, how the world's poor people are amaz'd, &c.
"Venus," stanza 155, l. 925.

Here ended shee; and then her teares began,
That (Chorus-like) at every word downe rained, &c.
"Cassandra," p. 79.

With tears, which chorus-like her eyes did rain.
"Venus," stanza 60, l. 360.

The following show that *Lucrece* was also in Barnfield's mind:—

Now silent night drew on; when all things sleepe,
Save theeves, and cares, &c.
"Cassandra," p. 78.

Now leaden slumber with life's strength doth fight;
And every one to rest themselves betake,
Save thieves and cares and troubled minds that wake.
"Lucrece," stanza 18, ll. 124-6.

Heerewith awaking from her slumbring sleepe,
(For feare, and care, are enemies to rest.)

"Cassandra," p. 72.

This said, he sets his foot upon the light,
(For light and lust are deadly enemies).

"Lucrece," stanza 97, ll. 673-4.

Cassandra was published in January, 1595.

There are also distinct traces of the influence of the *Venus* in Barnfield's first poem, *The Affectionate Shepheard*, and in its continuation, *The Shepheards Content* (November, 1594). The latter, too, sometimes reminds one of *Lucrece*.

Wilt thou deceave the deep-earth-delving coney?

"The Aff. Shep.," p. 13.

And sometime where earth-delving conies keep.

"Venus," stanza 115, l. 687.

Humility in misery is reliev'd,
But Pride in neede of no man is regarded.

"The Aff. Shep.," p. 17.

For misery is trodden on by many,
And being low never reliev'd by any.

"Venus," stanza 118, ll. 707-8.

Which is intitled Beauty in the best.

"The Aff. Shep.," p. 16.

But beauty, in that white intituled, &c.

"Lucrece," stanza 9, l. 57.

The wealthie Merchant that doth crosse the Seas,
To Denmark, Poland, Spaine, and Barbarie,
For all his ritches, lives not still at ease;
Sometimes he feares ship-spoyling Pyracie, &c.

"The Shepheards Content," p. 27.

Pain pays the income of each precious thing;
Huge rocks, high winds, strong pirates, shelves and sands,
The merchant fears, ere rich at home he lands.

"Lucrece," stanza 48, ll. 334-6.

The foregoing parallels plainly show that Barnfield was an ardent admirer of Shakespeare, and it is but right that they should be put on record, to enable scholars to arrive at a true estimate of Barnfield's work and the influences that assisted to produce it.

I may add that, previous to the information given in this paper, the first reference to *Venus and Adonis* was supposed to appear in the following line from a poem by Southwell, believed to be written in 1594, published 1595:—

Still finest wits are 'stilling Venus' rose.

No evidence, save what is supposed to be contained in the line, has been brought forward to warrant the assumption that Southwell was referring to Shakespeare's poem; but, in the case of Barnfield, we can point not only to manifest imitations of Shakespeare, but also to fixed dates, which prove that Barnfield borrowed his materials previous to November, 1594.

CUNNINGHAM's edition of *Ben Jonson's Conversations with Drummond of Hawthornden*, vol. iii. p. 486, says:—

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"XV. His Opinione of Verses.—That he wrott all his first in prose, for so his Master, Cambden, had learned him."

The following is but a sample of the evidence that I have collected in corroboration of this statement:—

"Money never made any man rich, but his mind. He that can order himself to the law of nature, is not only without the sense, but the fear of poverty. O! but to strike blind the people with our wealth and pomp, is the thing! what a wretchedness is this, to thrust all our riches outward, and be beggars within; to contemplate nothing but the little, vile, and sordid things of the world; not the great, noble, and precious?"—"Discoveries: Amor nummi."

"Nor is it only in our walls and ceilings; but all that we call happiness is mere painting and gilt; and all for money: what a thin membrane of honour that is! and how hath all true reputation fallen, since money began to have any!"—"Discoveries: De stultitiâ."

Cymbal. I am your servant,
Excellent princess, and would have you appear
That which you are: come forth the state and wonder
Of these our times, dazzle the vulgar eyes,
And strike the people blind with admiration.

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P. Canter. Why that's the end of wealth! thrust riches outward,
And remain beggars within; contemplate nothing
But the vile, sordid things of time, place, money,
And let the noble and the precious go:
Virtue and honesty; hang them, poor thin membranes
Of honour! who respects them? O, the fates,
How hath all just true reputation fallen,
Since money, this base money, 'gan to have any!
"The Staple of News," III. i.

"We covet superfluous things, when it were more honour for us, if we would contemn necessary. What need hath nature of silver dishes, multitudes of waiters, delicate pages, perfumed napkins? she requires meat only, and hunger is not ambitious . . . . O! if a man could restrain the fury of his gullet, and groin, and think how many fires, how many kitchens, cooks, pastures, and ploughed lands; what orchards, stews, ponds, and parks, coops and garners, he could spare; what velvets, tissues, embroideries, laces, he could lack; and then how short and uncertain his life is; he were in a better way to happiness, than to live the emperor of these delights, and be the dictator of fashions . . . . Have not I seen the pomp of a whole kingdom, and what a foreign king could bring hither? Also to make himself gazed and wondered at, laid forth as it were to the shew, and vanish all away in a day? And shall that which could not fill the expectation of few hours, entertain and take up our whole lives? when even it appeared as superfluous to the possessors, as to me that was a spectator. The bravery was shewn, it was not possessed; while it boasted itself, it perished."—"Discoveries: Amor nummi."

Pennyboy Senior. Who can endure to see
The fury of men's gullets, and their groins?
What fires, what cooks, what kitchens might be spared!
What stews, ponds, parks, coops, garners, magazines!
What velvets, tissues, scarfs, embroideries,
And laces they might lack! They covet things

Superfluous still ; when it were much more honour
They could want necessary : what need hath nature
Of silver dishes, or gold chamber-pots?
Of perfumed napkins, or a numerous family
To see her eat? poor, and wise, she requires
Meat only ; hunger is not ambitious :
Say, that you were the emperor of pleasure,
The great dictator of fashions, for all Europe,
And had the pomp of all the courts, and kingdoms,
Laid forth unto the shew, to make yourself
Gazed and admired at ; you must go to bed,
And take your natural rest : then all this vanisheth.
Your bravery was but shown ; 'twas not possest :
While it did boast itself, it was then perishing.

Cymbal. This man has healthful lungs. [*Aside.*

Pennyboy Senior. All that excess
Appear'd as little yours, as the spectators :
It scarce fills up the expectation
Of a few hours, that entertains men's lives.

Cymbal. He has the monopoly of sole-speaking. [*Aside.*

"The Staple of News," III. ii.

John Webster and Sir Philip Sidney

So little is known of the life of John Webster that Dyce, in his account of the dramatist's writings, complained that he could do little more than enumerate his different productions, several of which have been lost. Although I cannot add to the meagre particulars that are known concerning the man and his daily life, I shall make it clear that it is possible by patient investigation to learn something of the writer and the authors he studied.

In these papers I propose to confine myself as much as possible to three of Webster's productions—namely, *The Duchess of Malfi*, *The Devil's Law-Case*, and the poem he wrote on the death of Henry, Prince of Wales, which is entitled *A Monumental Column*. I will show, what has not been noticed before, that Webster was a devoted admirer of the work of Sir Philip Sidney, and that many of his choice sayings and some of the most moving incidents in *The Duchess of Malfi* are taken from or based upon passages to be found in the *Arcadia*. What Webster thought of Sir Philip Sidney as a scholar and a soldier can be

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seen from the illusions he makes to him in his *Monuments of Honour*. He styles him "the glory of our clime," and selects him from amongst all contemporary writers and heroes as the most fitting to be the celebrator of honour and preserver of the names of men and memories of cities to posterity. He had reason to be grateful to Sir Philip Sidney, as I shall show.

Doubt rests upon the date of *The Duchess of Malfi*, which Malone, on insufficient grounds, assigned to the year 1612 or thereabouts. Yet it seems probable from the evidence obtained from a comparison of the tragedy with *A Monumental Column*, written early in 1613, and a further comparison of both pieces with the *Arcadia*, that Malone's date must be very near the mark. The language and style of *The Duchess of Malfi* and *A Monumental Column* are identical; and throughout both the influence of the *Arcadia* is persistent, and so palpable that it astonishes me that no previous writer has ever noticed it. *The Duchess of Malfi* was certainly performed before March, 1618-9, when Burbage, who originally played Ferdinand, died. As I cannot find any of Webster's other productions repeating the phrasing and style of *The Duchess of Malfi* so closely as *A Monumental Column*, I conclude that both pieces were composed

much about the same time. Dyce thought the play was first produced in 1616.

But, after all, the question of dates is not of primary importance, and I should not allude to it if it were not for the circumstance that it seems to me to be involved in the evidence which I have before me. *The Devil's Law-Case* copies the *Arcadia*, and quite as openly as *The Duchess of Malfi* and *A Monumental Column* do, but the repetitions of Sidney in that play are distinctly of another order; for, whereas the tragedy and the poem prove that Webster must have written them whilst his mind was full of the *Arcadia*, the coincidences with the latter in *The Devil's Law-Case* have all the appearance of being notes used after a lapse of time, and when Webster's mind was not so familiar with the contexts in Sidney's work. In *The Devil's Law-Case* Webster does not imitate Sir Philip Sidney's style, he merely borrows from him; in the other two pieces the influence of the *Arcadia* is felt in almost every scene and page. My object, then, is to show that Webster was very much indebted to Sir Philip Sidney, and this fact, if it does not add to our knowledge of the dramatist's life, must of necessity give us more than a passing glimpse of the man and his methods of writing.

In *Notes and Queries* 9th S. x. 301 I showed how

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Ben Jonson composed his verse. As he told Drummond of Hawthornden, "he wrott all his first in prose, for so his Master, Cambden had learned him." I was able to corroborate Drummond by showing that the prose of the *Discoveries* had been turned into verse for use in *The Staple of News*. It will be noticed when I compare Webster with Sidney that the dramatist treats the *Arcadia* prose in the same way, and often. Strange to say, Webster very rarely borrows from the poetry of the *Arcadia*.

In *The Duchess of Malfi* the duchess tells Antonio the he has cause to love her:

> I enter'd you into my heart
> Before you would vouchsafe to call for the keys.
>
> III. ii. 70-1 (Dyce).

Sidney makes Queen Helen use the same language when she describes to Palladius the manner in which Amphilaus won her love:

> "His fame had so framed the way to my mind that his presence, so full of beauty, sweetness, and noble conversation, had entered there before he vouchsafed to call for the keys."—"Arcadia," book i.

Whilst the duchess and Antonio are talking love Ferdinand enters unperceived by them, and his resentment and determination to punish his sister are so strong that he offers her a dagger, commanding her to stab herself with it. He was shocked to find how

familiar she had become with Antonio, who was so much beneath her in birth. She is, he thinks, a strumpet, and asks:—

> Virtue, where art thou hid? what hideous thing
> Is it that doth eclipse thee? . . . .
> Or is it true thou art but a bare name,
> And no essential thing? . . . .
> O most imperfect light of human reason,
> That mak'st us so unhappy to foresee
> What we can least prevent!
> . . . . there's in shame no comfort
> But to be past all bounds and sense of shame.
>
> Ll. 82-95.

Ferdinand's speech is the speech of Gynecia at the beginning of the *Arcadia*, book ii., and it will be seen that Webster has merely turned Sidney's prose into verse:—

> "O virtue, where dost thou hide thyself? What hideous thing is this which doth eclipse thee? Or is it true that thou wert never but a vain name, and no essential thing? . . . . O imperfect proportion of reason, which can too much foresee, and too little prevent! . . . . In shame there is no comfort but to be beyond all bounds of shame."

The duchess replies to Ferdinand's speech by telling him that she is married, though perhaps not to his liking, and that his design concerning her future has been frustrated:—

> Alas, your shears do come untimely now
> To clip the bird's wings that's already flown!
>
> Ll. 99-100.

The taunt is taken almost word for word from the *Arcadia*, book ii., being Philoclea's silent comment on the warning of Pamela, to be advised by her example:—

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"'Alas,' thought Philoclea to herself, 'your shears come too late to clip the bird's wings that already is flown away.'"

Antonio is a noble character, a man every way worthy of the love of the duchess; and Webster, when describing him, employs language the beauty of which it is impossible to overpraise:—

He was an excellent
Courtier and most faithful; a soldier that thought it
As beastly to know his own value too little
As devilish to acknowledge it too much.
Both his virtue and form deserv'd a far better fortune:
His discourse rather delighted to judge itself than show itself:
His breast was fill'd with all perfection,
And yet it seem'd a private whispering-room,
It made so little noise of 't. III. ii. 295-303.

To this speech in favour of Antonio the duchess replies:—

But he was basely descended.

Bosola asks:—

Will you make yourself a mercenary herald,
Rather to examine men's pedigrees than virtues?
Ll. 305-6.

The last two lines are founded upon the reply of

Kalander to Strephon, who is alluding to Musidorus:—

"'No,' said Kalander, speaking aloud, 'I am no herald to inquire of men's pedigrees; it sufficeth me if I know their virtues,'" &c.—Book i.

The description of Antonio is an imitation, but a noble imitation, of Sidney's description of Musidorus; and with it Webster has blended words that appear in the description of Parthenia:—

"and that which made her fairness much the fairer was that it was but a fair embassador of a most fair mind, full of wit, and a wit which delighted more to judge itself than show itself, her speech being as rare as precious," &c.—Book i.

Sidney describes Musidorus thus:—

"For, having found in him (besides his bodily gifts, beyond the degree of admiration) by daily discourses, which he delighted himself to have with him, a mind of most excellent composition, a piercing wit, quite void of ostentation, high-erected thoughts seated in a heart of courtesy, an eloquence as sweet in the uttering as slow to come to the uttering, a behaviour so noble as gave a majesty to adversity," &c.—Book i.

Compare the last lines of the latter quotation with the following:—

Bosola. —she seems
Rather to welcome the end of misery
Than shun it; a behaviour so noble
As gives a majesty to adversity.
"D. of Malfi," IV. i. 4-7.

But we are not done yet with the description of Musidorus, for Webster has again used it as material for the description of Prince Henry. It will be seen that the imitation is closer in the poem than in the play, and that *The Duchess of Malfi* and *A Monumental Column* have a line almost identically the same as each other, which is not in Sidney, although in his style. The line in question is the first in the following quotation :—

> His form and virtue both deserv'd his fortune ;
> . . . .
> His mind quite void of ostentation,
> His high-erected thoughts look'd down upon
> The smiling valley of his fruitful heart, &c.

The scene in *The Duchess of Malfi* where Ferdinand pays a visit to the darkened chamber of his sister, causes her to kiss the dead man's hand, and then, having had the room brilliantly lighted up, pulls aside a curtain and reveals the supposed bodies of Antonio and his children, is closely associated with the incident of the supposed decapitation of Philoclea in the *Arcadia*. Ferdinand plays the part of Sidney's Cecropia; and the horror of the duchess at beholding what she believes to be the dead bodies of her children and husband parallels the anguish of Pyrocles at witnessing what he thinks is the execution of Philoclea. The resemblance between the two inci-

dents is particular as well as general in character. Pyrocles tries to brain himself, and the duchess, equally resolved not to survive long the supposed death of her husband, expresses a determination to starve herself to death. At this point, in both pieces, a person enters who speaks words of comfort. The following parallel establishes the relation between Webster's scene and the story in the Arcadia :—

"It happened, at that time upon his bed, toward the dawning of the day, he heard one stir in his chamber, by the motion of garments, and with an angry voice asked who was there. 'A poor gentlewoman,' answered the party, 'that wish[es] long life unto you.' 'And I soon death unto you,' said he, 'for the horrible curse you have given me.'"—"Arcadia," book iii.

Duchess. Who must despatch me?
I account this world a tedious theatre,
For I do play a part in't against my will.
Bosola. Come, be of comfort; I will save your life,
Duch. Indeed, I have not leisure to tend
So small a business.
Bos. Now, by my life, I pity you.
Duch. Thou art a fool, then,
To waste thy pity on a thing so wretched
As cannot pity itself . . . .

Enter Servant.

What are you?
Serv. One that wishes you long life.
Duch. I would thou wert hang'd for the horrible curse
Thou hast given me. IV. i. 100-14.

Of course, only the latter portion of this quotation

resembles the reply of Pyrocles to his would-be comforter; but as the dialogue between the duchess and Bosola is from another part of the *Arcadia*, I quoted at length.

"But she, as if he had spoken of a small matter when he mentioned her life, to which she had not leisure to attend, desired him, if he loved her, to show it in finding some way to save Antiphilus. For her, she found the world but a wearisome stage unto her, where she played a part against her will, and therefore besought him not to cast his love in so unfruitful a place as could not love itself," &c.—"Arcadia," book ii.

The lady in this case is the queen Erona, who is bewailing the misfortunes of herself and her husband. In her sorrow, says Sidney, one could "perceive the shape of loveliness more perfectly in woe than in joyfulness." These words, slightly altered, help to describe the duchess in her grief:—

Bosola. You may discern the shape of loveliness
More perfect in her tears than in her smiles.

IV. i. 8-9.

Again:—

Duchess. I am acquainted with sad misery
As the tann'd galley-slave is with his oar;
Necessity makes me suffer constantly,
And custom makes it easy. Who do I look like now?
Cariola. Like to your picture in the gallery,
A deal of life in show but none in practice.

IV. ii. 34-9.

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The last two lines are from a speech of Pyrocles, who says he was stunned when he beheld the glorious beauty of Philoclea for the first time; he could not take his eyes from her, his sight

"was so fixed there that I imagine I stood like a well-wrought image, with some life in show, but none in practice."—Book i.

An echo of the saying is to be found in *The Devil's Law-Case*, which often repeats *The Duchess of Malfi*:—

> *Jolenta.* My being with child was merely in supposition,
> Not practice. V. i. 21-2.

Philoclea asks Pamela:—

"Do you love your sorrow so well as to grudge me part of it? Or do you think I shall not love a sad Pamela so well as a joyful? Or be my ears unworthy, or my tongue suspected? What is it, my sister, that you should conceal from your sister—yea, and servant, Philoclea?"—"Arcadia," book ii.

When using this passage of the *Arcadia* Webster tacked on to it a reply imitated from Shakespeare:—

> *Julia.* Are you so far in love with sorrow
> You cannot part with part of it? or think you
> I cannot love your grace when you are sad
> As well as merry? or do you suspect
> I, that have been a secret to your heart
> These many winters, cannot be the same
> Unto your tongue?
> *Cardinal.* Satisfy thy longing,—
> The only way to make thee keep my counsel
> Is, not to tell thee. V. ii. 270-9.

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Everybody remembers the reply of Hotspur to Lady Percy :—

Constant you are,
But yet a woman : and for secrecy,
No lady closer ; for I well believe
Thou wilt not utter what thou dost not know.
"1 Henry IV.," II. iii. 113-16.

A somewhat similar thing occurs again in Webster's play. He refers to a saying varied from Sir Francis Bacon, and follows it up with a reply taken from Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*.

In *The White Devil*, as Dyce pointed out, the lines

Perfumes, the more they are chaf'd, the more they render
Their pleasing scents ; and so affliction
Expresseth virtue fully, &c.
(ll. 60-2, Dyce, p. 6, col. 1),

parallel Bacon's

"Certainly virtue is like precious odours, most fragrant when they are incensed or crushed ; for prosperity doth best discover vice, but adversity doth best discover virtue."—Essay of "Adversity."

That the allusion to the crushing of perfumes to make them smell sweeter is proverbial is recognized, Lyly in his *Euphues* having the remark, "If you pound spices they smell the sweeter" (Arber, p. 41, l. 23). But the particular application of the proverb in Webster, his mode of phrasing it, and the circumstance that he has copied much from Bacon—especially from the latter's *Apophthegms*—are sufficient testimony as

to the origin of the saying in *The White Devil.* The passage in *The Duchess of Malfi* is as follows :—

> *Antonio.* O, be of comfort !
> Make patience a noble fortitude.
>
> . . . .
>
> Man, like to Cassia, is prov'd best, being bruis'd.
> *Duch.* Must I, like to a slave-born Russian,
> Account it praise to suffer tyranny?
> III. v. 87-92.

The quarto of 1640 reads "ruffian" for "Russian." Compare :—

> And now, like slave-born Muscovite,
> I call it praise to suffer tyrannie.
> "Astrophel and Stella," II.

The tragedy of *Selimus* copies several times from Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, and amongst other phrases it has "slave-born Muscovites" (l. 551, Grosart). Sidney's saying passed into a proverb :—

> *Alberto.* I tamely bear
> Wrongs, which a slave-born Muscovite would check at.
> Beaumont and Fletcher, "The Fair Maid of the Inn," V. iii.

And again, in the same authors' plays, we find this :—

> *Mallicorn.* We are true Muscovites to our wives, and are never better pleased than when they use us as slaves, bridle and saddle us, &c.—"The Honest Man's Fortune," III. iii.

Dyce has noted several instances of the repetition by Webster of whole lines, and even of double lines, in his various works, and it is by no means a diffi-

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cult task to add to Dyce's list. These repetitions really form part of a long series of notes, carefully prepared beforehand, which Webster has scattered throughout his writings. They stand out from the rest of his work, and are easily recognized. In old writings such sentences are often marked by a hand in the margin, to denote that they are worthy of more than passing consideration; or they might be put between inverted commas, to emphasize their wit or wisdom. Sometimes they are brought in very awkwardly, and do not harmonize with surrounding matter; and sometimes the speakers follow up their wise saws by remarks which indicate very plainly that they are conscious of having given utterance to something beyond the common. But, whether awkwardly introduced or otherwise, these notes, whether cast into the form of proverbs or shaped to rime, stand out from the text and rivet one's attention. I will deal with some of these notes, and show that in many cases they should be put between inverted commas, not merely to show up their wisdom or beauty, but because they are actually quotations pure and simple.

Let us take one of the repetitions noted by Dyce and trace it to its source:—

> *Contarino.* I am ever bound to you
> For many special favours.

Leonora. Sir, your fame renders you
Most worthy of it.
Cont. It could never have got
A sweeter air to fly in than your breath.
"The Devil's Law-Case," I. i. 142-7.

The last line, except for one word, is to be found in *A Monumental Column* :—

Never found prayers, since they convers'd with death,
A sweeter air to fly in than his breath.
Ll. 221, 222.

The sentiment and its phrasing are taken from the *Arcadia*, book ii., where Dorus addresses Pamela in most courtly style :—

"But most sure it is that, as his fame could by no means get so sweet and noble air to fly in as your breath, so," &c.

The passage, as shown by Dyce, is imitated by Massinger; but that is not strange, for Massinger knew his *Arcadia* almost by heart.

The following is a sentence which reads like a proverb, but it is only a quotation from Sidney :—

Angiolella. If you will believe truth,
There's naught more terrible to a guilty heart
Than the eye of a respected friend.
"The Devil's Law-Case," V. I. 8-10.

Note Webster's "If you will believe truth"; the words imply a reference to a proverb generally known. But I will quote :—

Pyrocles [to Musidorus]. But my wishes grew into unquiet longings, and knowing that to a heart resolute counsel is tedious, and reprehension loathsome, and that there is nothing more terrible to a guilty heart than the eye of a respected friend, &c. -Book i.

Again, note the "has still been held" in the following:—

Leonora. For man's experience has still been held Woman's best eyesight.—"The Devil's Law-Case," I. i. 200, 201.

Compare:—

Cecropia [to Philoclea]. For, believe me, niece, believe me, man's experience is woman's best eyesight.—Book iii.

In the same part of the *Arcadia* Dorus is said to have

"wandered half mad for sorrow in the woods, crying for pardon of her who could not hear him, but indeed was grieved for his absence, *having given the wound to him through her own heart.*"

The phrase pleased Webster, hence these speeches:—

Leonora. You have given him the wound you speak of
Quite thorough your mother's heart.
"The Devil's Law-Case," III. iii. 249, 250.

Clare. O you have struck him dead thorough my heart!
"A Cure for a Cuckold," IV. ii. 33.

But the parallels with the *Arcadia* in *The Devil's Law-Case* are few and far between, and utterly different from those which can be cited from *The Duchess of Malfi* and *A Monumental Column.* Very rarely do we find Webster in the former play imitating the *Arcadia*; he merely quotes from it, or makes use of

passages that he had noted down when reading the book. But the imitation of Sidney in the other two pieces is constant, and bits of the *Arcadia* come together "huddle on huddle." The inference to be drawn seems obvious, especially when viewed in relation to the external evidence which is to hand concerning the dates of the plays and poems and their internal relation to each other. *The Duchess of Malfi* and *A Monumental Column* were produced about the same time, and followed, after a somewhat lengthy interval, by *The Devil's Law-Case.*

A case of "huddle on huddle" occurs in the first speech of Bosola in *The Duchess of Malfi*, IV. i. 3-9. This piece is made up of three passages of the *Arcadia*, two of which I quoted in my first paper. The following completes and accounts for the remainder of the speech :—

> *Bosola.* She's sad as one long us'd to 't, and she seems
> Rather to welcome the end of misery
> Than shun it.

In Sidney thus :—

> "But Erona, sad indeed, yet like one rather used than new fallen to sadness, as who had the joys of her heart already broken, seemed rather to welcome than to shun that end of misery," &c.—Book ii.

Sidney contrasts the bearing of Erona and her unworthy husband in affliction :—

"For Antiphilus, that had no greatness but outward, that taken away, was ready to fall faster than calamity could thrust him, with fruitless begging of life," &c.—Book ii.

When Bosola is about to stab the Cardinal the latter cries, "O mercy!" Bosola replies:—

> Now it seems thy greatness was only outward;
> For thou fall'st faster of thyself than calamity
> Can drive thee.
>
> "The Duchess of Malfi," V. v. 55-8.

At the beginning of the same scene, where Bosola enters bearing Antonio's body, the Cardinal greets him by saying:—

> Thou look'st ghastly:
> There sits in thy face some great determination
> Mix'd with some fear.
>
> Ll. 8-10.

Webster's mind was so full of the *Arcadia* that he could not help reproducing its phrases:—

"Euarchus passed through them like a man that did neither disdain a people, nor yet was anything tickled with their flatteries, but, always holding his own, a man might read a constant determination in his eyes."—Book v.

It is not by chance, as I have shown, that Webster causes the fortunes of Antonio, a man of mean birth, and his wife the duchess, to resemble at times the fortunes of the queen Erona and her mean-born husband Antiphilus. Nor is it fanciful to compare

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the strange incident in *The Duchess of Malfi* of Ferdinand showing his sister the artificial figures of her husband and children with Sidney's story of the pretended execution of Philoclea, as well as with that of Pamela told just previously. The dumb shows in the *Arcadia* are devised by Cecropia to drive her victims to despair and to make them yield to her wishes. In Webster's play the device is the same: the duchess is to be "plagued in art," and Ferdinand says he will "bring her to despair." Pamela, who was also a witness of the scene of the pretended execution of her sister, nothing daunted at the sight, became more hardened in her opposition to the wishes of Cecropia, and

> "she vowed never to receive sustenance of them that had been the causers of my [Philoclea's] murther."—Book iii.

So in the play, the dumb show has the opposite effect on the duchess to that intended, and she tells Bosola that she will starve herself to death. Again, when Cecropia found that her cruelty was defeating its own ends, she permitted the sisters, who had been imprisoned in different chambers, to come together again,

> "with the same pity as folks keep fowl when they are not fat enough for their eating.—Book iii.

Compare:—

> *Bosola.* Your brothers mean you safety and pity.
> *Duchess.* Pity!
> With such a pity men preserve alive
> Pheasants and quails, when they are not fat enough
> To be eaten.
>
> "The Duchess of Malfi," III. v. 132-5.

I have been thus particular in pointing out a few of the resemblances between the plots of Sidney and Webster because I asserted in my first paper that incidents in the play were founded upon similar incidents in the *Arcadia.* I could pursue the subject much further, but do not wish to deprive myself of space for dealing with Webster's language and proverbial lore.

It is interesting to find that Webster lingered over his reading of the story of the King of Paphlagonia. Everybody knows that it was from this story that Shakespeare derived material for the underplot of Gloster and his sons in *King Lear.* Sidney's king opens his speech thus:—

> "'Sirs,' answered he with a good grace, 'your presence promiseth that cruelty shall not overrun hate; and if it did, in truth *our state is sunk below the degree of fear.*'"—Book ii.

The italicized words, slightly altered, appear in a speech of Bosola's, and in a scene where the duchess, like Desdemona in *Othello*, speaks after she has been strangled:—

These tears, I am very certain, never grew
In my mother's milk: my estate is sunk
Below the degree of fear.
"The Duchess of Malfi," IV. ii. 429-31.

Sidney alludes to a quaint saying, breaking off in the middle of it; Webster obligingly fills up the blank, as the following will show:—

"Cecropia grew so angry with this unkind answer that she could not abstain from telling her that she was *like them that could not sleep when they were softly laid.*" &c.—"Arcadia," Book iii.

Julia. You are like some cannot sleep in feather-beds,
But must have blocks for their pillows.
"The Duchess of Malfi," V. ii. 244-5.

A fine saying in the play is that of Bosola:—

The weakest arm is strong enough that strikes
With the sword of justice.
V. ii. 407-8.

It comes from the defiance of Argalus to Amphialus:

"Prepare therefore yourself according to the noble manner you have used, and think not lightly of never so weak an arm which strikes with the sword of justice.—Book iii.

Sidney says:—

"Strictness is not the way to preserve virtue; he had better leave women's minds the most untamed that way of any; for no cage will please a bird, and every dog is the fiercer for tying."—Book i.

The proverb is not uncommon, yet we may assume that its presence in Sidney is responsible for its reappearance in Webster:—

Bosola. This restraint,
Like English mastives that grow fierce with tying,
Makes her too passionately apprehend
Those pleasures she's kept from.
IV. i. 14-17.

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It is a singular and remarkable fact that, although Massinger was well acquainted with the *Arcadia* and borrowed from it, yet several times he varies Sir Philip Sidney in the very words used by Webster. It is also strange that he should adopt the phrasing of Beaumont and Fletcher in exactly the same way. Take the foregoing parallel as an instance, and see how the "dog" of Sidney is particularized by Massinger and Webster as the English mastiff:—

Francisco. These Turkish dames
(Like English mastives, that increase their fierceness
By being chained up), from the restraint of freedom, &c.
"The Renegado," I. iii.

Then, as regards Beaumont and Fletcher, note the following:—

"For the very cowards no sooner saw him but, as borrowing some of his spirit, they went like young eagles to the prey under the wings of their dam."—"Arcadia," Book iii.

Ferdinand. My soldiers (like young eaglets preying under
The wings of their fierce dam), as if from him
They took both spirit and fire, bravely came on.
"The Picture," II. ii.

The passage in Beaumont and Fletcher, which Mr.

W. J. Craig pointed out to me, agrees with Massinger in changing Sidney's "eagles" to "eaglets," and in styling the dam "fierce":—

> *Achillas.* And, as inspired by him, his following friends,
> With such a confidence as young eaglets prey
> Under the large wing of their fiercer dam,
> Brake through our troops, and scatter'd 'em.
>
> "The False One," V. iv.

Massinger has the same allusion, in almost the same words, in *The Unnatural Combat*, II. i., and he repeats the remainder of the speech in the latter in another scene of *The Renegado*, as well as in *The Duke of Milan* and other plays. He was a writer who thought he could not say a good thing too often. As regards *The False One*, it is conjectured that Massinger and Fletcher wrote the play between them, and therefore it is possible that Massinger is only borrowing from himself, as usual. But that theory would not account for the great number of other parallels that are to be found in Massinger and Beaumont and Fletcher.

When the duchess is parting from her husband, she says to him,

> *In the eternal church*, sir,
> I do hope we shall not part thus.
>
> "The Duchess of Malfi," III. v. 85-6.

The phrase is from Sidney:—

"She sought all means, as well by poison as knife, to send her soul at least to be married in the eternal Church with him."—"Arcadia," Book ii.

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When Bosola is courted by Julia, and he tells her that she must not expect from him, a blunt soldier, the compliments and soft phrase of a lover, she replies:—

> Why, ignorance
> In courtship cannot make you do amiss,
> If you have a heart to do well.
> "The Duchess of Malfi," V. ii. 197-9.

A part of the speech is taken from Sidney's charming description of Lalus, one of many perfect gems in writing to be found in the *Arcadia*:—

He had nothing upon him but a pair of slops, and upon his body a goatskin, which he cast over his shoulder, doing all things with so pretty a grace that it seemed *ignorance could not make him do amiss because he had a heart to do well.*"—Book i.

The last speech in *The Duchess of Malfi* has this beautiful sentiment, which Webster claims as if it were an old companion:—

> *Delio.* I have ever thought
> Nature doth nothing so great for great men
> As when she's pleased to make them lords of truth.
> "The Duchess of Malfi," V. v. 144-6.

It may be that a perfect copy of the *Arcadia* will show that not only these lines, but other parts of the speech in the play, are stolen. My *Arcadia* is split

into two portions, one professing to contain all Sidney's prose, the other his verse, and neither is connected with the other. The editor of the prose *Arcadia*, in his introduction, says :—

> "We are told in a sentence which speaks to the heart of a good man as a trumpet does to that of a soldier, 'Nature had done so much for them in nothing as that it had made them lords of Truth, whereon all other goods were builded.'"

The sentence is not in my copy of the book, and I should have missed it if it had not been quoted in the introduction.

I have no space now to deal with parallels in the *Arcadia* and *A Monumental Column*; but I am bound to mention a discovery I have made since I began this article. In *A Monumental Column* and *The Duchess of Malfi* there is a line almost identically the same. I quoted this line earlier in this essay (p. 27), and said that it was not in Sidney, although in his style. It was familiar to me, and I had a distinct recollection of having read the matter in the preceding lines of *A Monumental Column* elsewhere. The following will show that the line in question is copied from Ben Jonson, and that Webster treats Ben's prose in the same way as he has treated Sidney's :—

> Some great inquisitors in nature say,
> Royal and generous forms sweetly display

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Much of the heavenly virtue, as proceeding
From a pure essence and elected breeding:
Howe'er, truth for him thus much doth importune,
His form and virtue both deserv'd his fortune.

Lines 23-8.

Jonson is addressing the same Prince Henry whom Webster laments:—

"When it hath been my happiness (as would it were more frequent) but to see your face, and, as passing by, to consider you; I have with as much joy, as I am now far from flattery in professing it, called to mind that doctrine of *some great inquisitors in Nature*, who hold every *royal and heroic form* to partake and draw *much* to it *of the heavenly virtue*. For, whether it be that a divine soul, being to come into a body, first chooseth a palace for itself; or, being come, doth make it so; or that Nature be ambitious to have her work equal; I know not: but what is lawful for me to understand and speak, that I dare; which is, that *both your virtue and your form did deserve your fortune*."—Dedication, "The Masque of Queens," 1609.

Jonson's phrasing and his definition of the doctrine are taken direct from Edmund Spenser's *An Hymne in Honour of Beautie*, especially from ll. 120-40 of that poem. A reference to the poem will show conclusively that Ben was thinking of a brother-poet's lines, and not of a dryasdust philosophical dissertation, when he was paying to Prince Henry the compliments which Webster copied from him. Hence Edmund Spenser, in Jonson's opinion, is one of "the great inquisitors in Nature." For form's sake I will quote a few lines from Spenser, and refer the reader

to the poem for the full proof that it inspired Ben Jonson :—

So every spirit, as it is most pure,
And hath in it the more of heavenly light,
So it the fairer bodie doth procure
To habit in, and it more fairely dight, &c.
Lines 127-30.

There are other parts of *A Monumental Column* and *The Duchess of Malfi* which are borrowed from Ben Jonson, but the scope of these articles precludes me from dealing with them. It is sufficient for me to claim that I have proved Webster to have been a royal borrower from Sidney; and I hope I have ordered my evidence in such a way as to make it fairly evident that *A Monumental Column* and *The Duchess of Malfi* were produced about the same time, and that both were followed by *The Devil's Law-Case.*

Edmund Spenser, "Locrine," and "Selimus"

SEVERAL years ago, when I first began to read Spenser, I noticed that his writings generally, but especially *The Faerie Queen*, had exercised a remarkable influence over Marlowe; and further, that the anonymous play of *Locrine* copied whole lines and even stanzas of the same poet's minor poems, with little or no attempt at variation. However, as the parallels I was able to gather did not bear directly upon the subjects I had in hand, I contented myself with merely taking a note of them, and then let them rest. But some time ago, at the instigation of the late Dr. Grosart, I obtained a copy of another anonymous play, *Selimus*, and I very soon discovered that my Spenser-*Locrine* parallels were of rather more importance than I had suspected; and a close and searching examination of *Selimus* revealed to me the fact that I was at work on a tragedy from the pen of Christopher Marlowe.

Selimus, I need hardly say, is generally supposed to have been written by Robert Greene; and, as regards

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Locrine, everybody knows the play has been assigned to Marlowe as well as to Shakespeare.

My copy of *Selimus* does not hint at any relationship between the tragedy and *Locrine*, and therefore, when I found that it actually repeated lines of the latter which I had traced to Spenser years ago, my interest was aroused. I worked the two plays against each other and with Spenser for all they were worth, and the results, especially as concerns *Selimus*, are nothing less than startling.

When I had got sufficient material together to enable me to form some opinion of the real relationship of the two plays, I communicated with Dr. Furnivall, and he went over a portion of the evidence with Mr. Daniel, who was not slow to discover other material in corroboration of my statements, with the result that I was advised to get my parallels into print at once.

Without further preface, I will at once direct attention to the parallels in Spenser, *Locrine*, and *Selimus*, merely remarking that it will surprise many to find that such gross repetitions of Spenser's work have not been detected long ere this.

I will commence with a few parallels in Spenser and *Locrine* that are not repeated in *Selimus*:—

Edmund Spenser, "Locrine," and "Selimus"

A mighty Lyon, lord of all the wood,
Having his hunger throughly satisfide
With pray of beasts and spoyle of living blood,
Safe in his dreadles den him thought to hide:
His sternesse was his prayse, his strength his pride,
And all his glory in his cruell clawes.
I saw a Wasp, that fiercely him defide,
And bad him battaile even to his jawes;
Sore he him stong, that it the blood forth drawes,
And his proude heart is fild with fretting ire:
In vaine he threats his teeth, his tayle, his pawes,
And from his bloodie eyes doth sparkle fire.

"Visions of the Worlds Vanitie," 1591, stanza x.

Compare:—

Ate. A mighty lion, ruler of the woods,
Of wondrous strength and great proportion,

. . . .

Traversed the groves, and chased the wandering beasts:
Long did he range amid the shady trees,
And drave the silly beasts before his face,
When suddenly from out a thorny bush
A dreadful archer with his bow y-bent,
Wounded the lion with a dismal shaft:
So he him struck, that it drew forth the blood,
And fill'd his furious heart with fretting ire.
But all in vain he threat'neth teeth and paws,
And sparkleth fire from forth his flaming eyes,
For the sharp shaft gave him a mortal wound:
So valiant brute, the terror of the world,
Whose only looks did scare his enemies,
The archer Death brought to his latest end.
O, what may long abide above this ground,
In state of bliss and healthful happiness!

"Dumb Show," I.

Edmund Spenser, "Locrine," and "Selimus"

Note that the last two lines of Ate's speech are from *The Ruines of Time* (ll. 568-9):—

> But what can long abide above this ground
> In state of blis, or stedfast happinesse?

that its second line is from stanza vii. of the *Visions of the Worlds Vanitie*; and that the context of the latter is copied again in another part of the play. But I will quote:—

> High on a hill a goodly Cedar grewe,
> *Of wondrous length, and streight proportion,*
> That farre abroad her daintie odours threwe;
> Mongst all the daughters of proud Libanon.
>
> Spenser.

> *Brutus.* Even as the lusty cedar worn with years,
> That far abroad her dainty odour throws,
> 'Mongst all the daughters of proud Lebanon.
>
> "Locrine," I. i., 17-19.

I may remark in passing that the line in Ate's speech,

> Whose only looks did scare his enemies,

parallels a passage in *Selimus*:—

> *Chers.* Whose only name affrights your enemies.
>
> L. 185.

The writer of *Locrine* pilfered from *Selimus*, here and elsewhere, as I shall show.

Stanza vi. of the *Visions of the Worlds Vanitie* is also pressed to do service in *Locrine*:—

Edmund Spenser, "Locrine," and "Selimus"

An hideous Dragon, dreadfull to behold,
Whose backe was arm'd against the dint of speare
With shields of brasse that shone like burnisht golde,
And forkhed sting that death in it did beare,
Strove with a Spider his unequall peare;
And bad defiance to his enemie.
The subtill vermin, creeping closely neare,
Did in his drinke shed poyson privilie;
Which, through his entrailes spredding diversly,
Made him to swell, that nigh his bowells brust,
And him enforst to yeeld the victorie,
That did so much in his owne greatnesse trust.

Thus in *Locrine*:—

Ate. High on a bank, by Nilus' boisterous streams,
Fearfully sat the Egyptian crocodile,
Dreadfully grinding in her sharp long teeth
The broken bowels of a silly fish.
His back was arm'd against the dint of spear,
With shields of brass that shined like burnish'd gold:
And as he stretched forth his cruel paws,
A subtle adder creeping closely near,
Thrusting his forked sting into his claws,
Privily shed his poison through his bones,
Which made him swell, that there his bowels burst,
That did so much in his own greatness trust.

. . . .

Mark what ensues, and you may easily see
That all our life is but a tragedy.
"Dumb Show," III.

As in the case of the previous *Dumb Show*, so here the conclusion of Ate's speech is under obligation to another poem of Spenser's:—

Edmund Spenser, "Locrine," and "Selimus"

For all mans life me seemes a tragedy,
Full of sad sights and sore catastrophees.
"The Teares of the Muses," 1591, ll. 157-8.

And the author of *Locrine* is so enamoured of the phrasing that he repeats it in the last speech by Estrild, Act V. sc. iv. Of course, too, Ate's "Egyptian crocodile" is identical with the reptile described in stanza iii. of the *Visions of the Worlds Vanitie.*

I turn now to Spenser's *Ruines of Rome*, a poem that was evidently a favourite of Marlowe, who has taken suggestions from it for several of the speeches in *Tamburlaine.* This poem is also copied in *Selimus* as well as in *Locrine*, and, very curiously, the two plays crib identical lines from it and agree to tack on to those lines other matter which is not present in Spenser. But I will deal with a purely Spenser-*Locrine* parallel before I bring in *Selimus* and Marlowe, just to show how flagrantly the playwriter deals with Spenser's work:—

O that I had the Thracian Poets harpe,
For to awake out of th' infernall shade
Those antique Cæsars, sleeping long in darke,
The which this auncient Citie whilome made!
Or that I had Amphions instrument
To quicken with his vitall notes accord,
The stonie joynts of these old walls now rent,
By which th' Ausonian light might be restor'd.
Stanza xxv.

Edmund Spenser, "Locrine," and "Selimus"

Compare :—

> O that I had the Thracian Orpheus' harp,
> For to awake out of the infernal shade
> Those ugly devils of black Erebus,—
> That might torment the damned traitor's soul !
> O that I had Amphion's instrument,
> To quicken with his vital notes and tunes
> The flinty joints of every stony rock,
> By which the Scythians might be punished.
>
> "Locrine," III. i. 5-12.

"Notes and tunes"! Does that *accord*? The author of *Locrine* never reaches anything like the level of Spenser when he attempts to vary that poet ; he tears everything to tatters. We shall have an opportunity later on of contrasting his methods with those of Marlowe and *Selimus*.

I pointed out that the author of *Locrine*, whom I suspect to be Robert Greene, boldly copied from Spenser's minor poems. The further and joint relation of *The Ruines of Rome* with that play and with *Selimus* now calls for attention. I will so arrange the various quotations as to show their mutual dependence on each other, and will cite passages from Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* to illustrate the contrast between the methods of appropriation and of assimilation in the two disputed plays. It will be seen that Spenser and *Selimus* account for every line of the quotation I shall

Edmund Spenser, "Locrine," and "Selimus"

bring from *Locrine*, and that *Tamburlaine* and *Selimus* agree to use the word "darted," which *Locrine* alters to "shot."

Sel. If Selimus were once your emperor
I'd dart abroad the thunderbolts of war,
And mow their heartless squadrons to the ground.

. . . .

Were they as mighty and as fell of force
As those old earth-bred brethren, which once
Heap'd hill on hill to scale the starry sky,
When Briareus, arm'd with a hundreth hands,
Flung forth a hundreth mountains at great Jove;
And when the monstrous giant Monichus
Hurled mount Olympus at great Mars his targe,
And *darted* cedars at Minerva's shield.

"Selimus," ll. 418-20, and 2431-38.

Humber. How bravely this young Briton, Albanact,
Darteth abroad the thunderbolts of war,
Beating down millions with his furious mood,
And in his glory triumphs over all,
Moving the massy squadrons off the ground!
Heaps hills on hills, to scale the starry sky:
As when Briareus, arm'd with an hundreth hands,
Flung forth an hundred mountains at great Jove:
As when the monstrous giant Monychus
Hurl'd mount Olympus at great Mars his targe,
And *shot* huge cedars at Minerva's shield.
How doth he overlook with haughty front
My fleeting hosts, and lifts his lofty face
Against us all that now do fear his force!
Like as we see the wrathful sea from far,
In a great mountain heap'd, with hideous noise,

Edmund Spenser, "Locrine," and "Selimus"

With thousand billows beat against the ships,
And toss them in the waves *like tennis balls.*
"Locrine," II. v.

Thus in Spenser:—

Whilom did those earthborn brethren blinde
. . . .
To dart abroad the thunderbolts of warre,
And, beating downe these walls with furious mood
. . . .
Heapt hils on hils to scale the starry skie,
And fight against the gods of heavenly berth,
Whiles Jove at them his thunderbolts let flie;
All suddenly with lightning overthrowne,
The furious squadrons downe to ground did fall,
. . . .
And th' Heavens in glorie triumpht over all:
So did that haughtie front, which heaped was
On these Seven Romane Hils, it selfe upreare
Over the world, and lift her loftie face
Against the heaven, that gan her force to feare.
. . . .
Like as ye see the wrathfull sea from farre
In a great mountaine heapt with hideous noyse,
Eftsoones a thousand billowes shouldred narre,
Against a rocke to breake with dreadfull poyse,
. . . .
Tossing huge tempests through the troubled skie.
"The Ruines of Rome," stanzas x., xi., xii., and xvi.

"Shot" is a mean word to put in the place of "darted," and the "tennis balls" of *Locrine* strike me as being somewhat of an anomaly. They certainly do not add grace to the image of Spenser. Now the

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phrasing of *Selimus*, which is altered in *Locrine*, is the phrasing of *Tamburlaine*, which, of course, borrowed from Spenser:—

> *Cosroe.* What means this devilish shepherd, to aspire
> With such a giantly presumption,
> To cast up hills against the face of heaven,
> And dare the force of angry Jupiter?
> "1 Tamburlaine," II. vi. 1-4, Dyce.

> *Tamb.* As Juno, when the giants were suppress'd,
> That *darted* mountains at her brother Jove.
> "1 Tamburlaine," V. i. 512-13.

> *Tamb.* Thou [Jove] hast procur'd a greater enemy
> Than he that *darted* mountains at thy head.
> "2 Tamburlaine," IV. i. 132-33.

Here let me say that there are several other passages in Marlowe that could be cited to show that he was an admirer of *The Ruines of Rome*; and in one case he seems to make an indirect allusion to Spenser himself:—

> As that brave sonne of Aeson, which by charmes
> Atchiev'd the golden fleece in Colchid land,
> Out of the earth engendred men of armes
> Of dragons teeth, sowne in the sacred sand;
> So this brave Towne, that in her youthlie daies
> An hydra was of warriours glorious, &c.
> "The Ruines of Rome," stanza x.

When Marlowe alludes to the fable he does so in the precise phraseology of *The Ruines of Rome*, and

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he makes Meander attribute it to "the poets." Surely he was thinking particularly of Spenser. But I will quote:—

> *Mean.* Like to the cruel brothers of the earth,
> Sprung of the teeth of dragons venemous,
> Their careless swords shall lance their fellows' throats,
> And make us triumph in their overthrow.
> *Mycetes.* Was there such brethren, sweet Meander, say,
> That sprung of teeth of dragons venemous?
> *Mean.* So poets say, my lord.
> *Myc.* And 't is a pretty toy to be a poet.
> Well, well, Meander, thou art deeply read;
> And having thee, I have a jewel sure.
>
> "1 Tamburlaine," II., ii. 47-56.

Of course, I claim that the coincidence of *Selimus* and *Tamburlaine* borrowing identical material from the same poem of Spenser is an argument in favour of the Marlowe authorship of both plays. But I deny that the same argument can hold good in respect to *Locrine*, which copies *Selimus* almost as outrageously as it does Spenser. The author of *Locrine* merely happened to discover that *Selimus* had obtained a small portion of its material from *The Ruines of Rome*, and he followed suit, but with less discretion and infinitely less ability.

The following are a few of the many identities that can be brought together from *Selimus* and *Locrine*. I could fill pages with such parallels:—

Edmund Spenser, "Locrine," and "Selimus"

Acomat. Fortune doth favour every bold assay,
And 't were a trick of an unsettled wit
Because the bees have stings with them alway,
To fear our mouths in honey to embay.
"Selimus," 826-29.

Hub. He is not worthy of the honeycomb
That shuns the hives because the bees have stings.
"Locrine," III. ii., 39-40.

Baj. Now Bajazet will ban another while,
And utter curses to the concave sky
Which may infect the regions of the air,
. . . .
Send out thy furies from thy fiery hall;
The pitiless Erynnis arm'd with whips
And all the damned monsters of black hell.
. . . .
More bloody than the Anthropophagi,
That fill their hungry stomachs with man's flesh.
"Selimus," ll. 1800-1802; 1320-22; and 1421-22.

Thus copied in a speech of *Locrine*:—

Hum. Where may I damn, condemn, and ban my fill
. . . .
And utter curses to the concave sky
Which may infect the airy regions.
. . . .
Come, fierce Erynnis, horrible with snakes;
Come, ugly furies, armed with your whips;
. . . .
Or where the bloody Anthropophagi
With greedy jaws devour the wandering wights!
III. vi. ll. 8; 10-11; 21-22; 34-35.

No author in dramas repeats himself in this slavish manner, nor would he imitate a whole scene of one

of his own plays as *Locrine*, IV. ii., imitates ll. 1874 to 1990 of *Selimus*. The action, the order of the speeches, the incident itself, and the conceits and sayings by which it is helped out are all remembered.

Edmund Spenser, "Locrine," and "Selimus"

Now we come to *The Faerie Queene*, and to the evidence which not only demolishes the theory of a common authorship for *Locrine* and *Selimus*, but proves that Marlowe must have written the latter play.

Selimus is full of *The Faerie Queene*; but *Locrine*, so far as I have been able to discover, never once borrows from Spenser's poem. That is very strange, for Spenser tells the story of Locrine at some length in book ii. canto x. Beyond that coincidence I have not been able to find anything in the shape of verbal or other parallel, except in a few cases where *Locrine* borrows from *Selimus*. The age of miracles is past. If the author of *Selimus* were also the author of *Locrine*, why does he habitually avoid borrowing from Spenser's great poem? The answer is plain: he is a different man from the author of *Selimus*—a man who had never read *The Faerie Queene*.

The first three books of *The Faerie Queene* were published in 1590, the same year which saw the publication of *Tamburlaine*. But a portion of the poem was in circulation as early as 1588, some lines of book ii. being accurately cited by Abraham Fraunce,

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that year, in his *Arcadian Rhetorike.* (See Dyce's note, p. 66, col. 2, Marlowe's *Works.*) *Selimus* was printed in 1594, *Locrine* in the following year. There is an entry of *Locrine* in the *Stationers' Registers* under date 20 July, 1594, but none of *Selimus*, either there or elsewhere.

I have said that *Selimus* is full of *The Faerie Queene.* Here is an incomplete list of words—some of them very rare in the literature of the time—and in most cases it can be shown that they occur in the parallel passages of the play and the poem. The list is confined to words that occur in the first three books of *The Faerie Queene.* I will follow the list up by illustrations:—

Assays, battleous, besprent, bless (for bliss), carke, (to) character, chrystaline, dolorous, dreeriment, embay, endamaged, enhance, faitour, fantastic, game (=lust, venery), gushing, gyre, hugy, hurtle, hurtling, lewd (=ignorant), (to) mask, peirsant, puissance, reave, rebutted, recomfort, re-vest, ruinate, smouldring, steel-head, stent, surquedry, thrillant, tomb-black, tronked, uneath, valiance, vermeil, warray.

"Battailous" is a word that occurs many times in Spenser, and the phrase "battailous array" is used by that poet three times in the first three books of *The Faerie Queene.* I will quote one case only, and cite

a passage under the phrase to show the exact meaning that Spenser attached to it:—

> Glistring in armes and battailous array.
>
> Book II. canto vii. stanza xxxvii.

> Glistring in armes and *warlike ornament.*
>
> Book II. canto xi. stanza xxiv.

Compare:—

> To toss the spear in battleous array.
>
> "Selimus," l. 158.

Spenser constantly uses "vermeil" for "vermilion," and the passage in *Selimus* which follows suit is almost an exact repetition of a line of *The Faerie Queene*:—

> How oft that day did sad Brunchildis see
> The green shield dyde in dolorous vermell?
>
> Book II. canto x. stanza xxiv.

> And dye my shield in dolorous vermeil.
>
> "Selimus," l. 744.

Even such a common word as "gushing" owes its presence in *Selimus* to Spenser:—

> And made an open passage for the gushing flood.
>
> Book I. canto ix. stanza xxxvi.

> Make thou a passage for thy gushing flood.
>
> "Selimus," l. 253.

"Gyre" has a peculiar meaning attached to it, and it is a word that occurs but rarely in poets of Spenser's time:—

Edmund Spenser, "Locrine," and "Selimus"

> Ne thenceforth his approved skill, to ward,
> Or strike, or *hurtle* rownd in warlike *gyre*, &c.
>
> Book II. canto v. stanza viii.

"To hurtle rownd in warlike gyre" is to skirmish wheeling round the foe, trying to strike him with advantage (*vide* Upton). Also see Book III. canto. i. stanza xxiii.

"Hurtle" and "gyre" are used in the same connexion in *Selimus*:—

> Those are the hands which Aga once did use
> To toss the spear, and in a warlike gyre
> To hurtle my sharp sword about my head.
>
> "Selimus," ll. 1489-91.

To "come hurtling in" means to come in with a rush, in a threatening manner:—

> Who, all enrag'd with smart and frantick yre,
> Came hurtling in full fiers, and forst the Knight retyre.
>
> Book I. canto viii. stanza xvii.

> Here the Polonian, he comes hurtling in
> Under the conduct of some foreign prince,
> To fight in honour of his crucifix!
>
> "Selimus," ll. 544-46.

Tomb-black:—

> To decke his herce, and trap his tomb-blacke steed.
>
> Book II. canto viii. stanza xvi.

> And who are these covered in tomb-black hearse?
>
> . . . .
>
> To celebrate his tomb-black mortuary.
>
> "Selimus," ll. 1265 and 2007.

The rare word "tronked" occurs twice in Spenser's first three books, and Todd derives it from the Latin *truncatus*, maimed or mangled (see Spenser's works, *Faerie Queene*, Book II. canto v. stanza iv., Routledge). But it was from the following unnoted passage that the author of *Selimus* adopted his word:—

Edmund Spenser, "Locrine," and "Selimus"

He smott off his left arme, which like a block
Did fall to ground, depriv'd of native might;
Large streames of blood out of the truncked stock
Forth gushed, like fresh-water streame from riven rocke.
Book I. canto viii. stanza x.

Witness, the earth, that sucked up my blood,
Streaming in rivers from my tronked arms!
"Selimus," ll. 1484-85.

Mr. Daniel has called my attention to the fact that in the following passage the late Dr. Grosart's edition of *Selimus* prints "array" for "warray," and he cites as his authority for the correction, not only a quotation made from the play by Capell, who writes "warray," but the passage from Spenser which I will adduce:—

But after Ninus, warlike Belus' son,
The earth with unknown armour did *array*,
Then first the *sacred* name of King begun.
"Selimus," ll. 323-25.

And, them long time before, great Nimrod was,
That first the world with sword and fire warrayd;
And after him old Ninus, &c.
Book I. canto v. stanza xlviii.

Edmund Spenser, "Locrine," and "Selimus"

Note that the playwright used *sacred* in the sense of *cursed*. The same meaning is attached to the word in one or two cases in Spenser.

Now for a few parallel passages in Spenser and *Selimus* that are not repeated or nearly related to passages in the acknowledged work of Marlowe :—

> Now hath the sunne with his lamp-burning light
> Walkt round about the world.
>
> Book II. canto ix. stanza vii.

> Twice fifteen times hath fair Latona's son
> Walked about the world with his great light.
>
> "Selimus," ll. 41-2.

> Deepe written in my heart with yron pen.
>
> Book I. canto viii. stanza xliv.

> Which nature hath inscribed with golden pen,
> Deep in the hearts of honourable men ?
>
> "Selimus," ll. 218-19.

> As when a wearie traveiler, that strayes
> By muddy shore of broad seven-mouthed Nile,
> Unweeting of the perillous wandring wayes
> Doth meete a cruell craftie crocodile
> Which, in false griefe hyding his harmefull guile,
> Doth weepe full sore, and sheddeth tender tears, &c.
>
> Book I. canto v. stanza xviii.

> Even as the great Egyptian crocodile
> Wanting his prey, with artificial tears
> And feigned plaints, his subtle tongue doth file,
> 'T entrap the silly wandering traveller, &c.
>
> "Selimus," ll. 448-55.

And make his carkas as the outcast dong?

Book II. canto viii. stanza xxviii.

Shall make thy carcase as the outcast dung.

"Selimus," l. 672.

O Thou, most auncient grandmother of all,

. . . .

Which wast begot in Dæmogorgons hall.

Book I. canto v. stanza xxii.

Black Demogorgon, grandfather of Night,
Send out thy furies from thy fiery hall.

"Selimus," ll. 1319-20.

O hateful hellish Snake! what Furie furst
Brought thee from balefull house of Proserpine, &c.

Book III. canto xi. stanza i.

O hateful hellish snake of Tartary,
That feedest on the soul of noblest men, &c.

"Selimus," ll. 1909-14.

As gentle shepherd in sweet eventide,

. . . .

A cloud of cumbrous gnattes doe him molest, &c.

Book I. canto i. stanza xxiii.

And like a shepherd, 'mongst a swarm of gnats, &c.

"Selimus," ll. 2477-78.

As he had traveild many a sommers day
Through boyling sands of Arabie and Iynde, &c.

Book I. canto vi, stanza xxxv.

Now as the weary wand'ring traveller
That hath his steps guided through many lands,
Through boiling soil of Africa and Ind, &c.

"Selimus," ll. 2523-25.

Edmund Spenser, "Locrine," and "Selimus"

Thus far I have proved that both *Locrine* and *Selimus* were indebted to Spenser's *Ruines of Rome*, that both plays copied the poem, though not in the same manner, *Locrine* filching from Spenser in the most barefaced manner, and never redeeming its faults of plagiary by any qualifying touches of original treatment, except such as are often of the most ridiculous character. The author, indeed, does not stop to consider whether or not Spenser's descriptions will apply to things in his play, but steals with the haste of a bungling robber. I have also shown that *Selimus* is copied in *Locrine* in the same bold fashion as Spenser is, and that Marlowe, whilst taking images from *The Ruines of Rome*, agrees with *Selimus* and Spenser, and differs from *Locrine*, in his phrasing. Neither will it be overlooked that I have not been able to show that *Locrine* was under any obligation for material to *The Faerie Queene*. If the two plays were by one writer, we should catch glimpses of Spenser's great poem in both; the absence of such material in *Locrine* renders the theory of a common authorship a psychological impossibility.

I turn now to the joint relation of *Selimus* and Marlowe with Spenser.

As was usual at that time, *Selimus* was printed without its author's name being mentioned on the

title-page. It was allowed to remain in neglect until the late Dr. Grosart took it in hand, and included it amongst the works of Greene in his "Huth Library," 1881-6. It has since been made accessible in Dent's "Temple Dramatists," 1898.

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Dr. Grosart saw that the play was a work of uncommon power; and as he had traced in it two passages that are quoted in *England's Parnassus* as being by Greene, he hastily concluded that Greene was the actual author of the play. Unfortunately for this conclusion there is nothing in *Selimus* to suggest Greene; and, as a matter of fact, its atheism, its bold advocacy of the doctrines of Machiavelli, its style, and its phrasing are totally dissimilar from anything that can be found in that writer's known work.

Again, the editor of *England's Parnassus*, which was printed in 1600, and consists of quotations from English literature up to that year, was not always correct in his assignments of passages that he quotes. He actually gives to Greene three passages that belong to Spenser, and he makes similar mistakes in regard to other authors. Take two other instances. He assigns to *W.* Marlowe, a line which was really written by John Marston, and which occurs in his *Pygmalion*, line 42:—

"Loves eyes in viewing never have their fill."

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And who was W. Marlowe, pray? Nobody can tell us, and he is only mentioned by the editor of *England's Parnassus*. In the other case, the anthology attributes the following passage in Sir Philip Sidney to the author of *Hero and Leander* :—

> *Geron.* Marriage will destroy
> Those passions which to youthfull head do clime—
> Mothers and nurses of all vaine annoy.
>
> "The Arcadia," Grosart, vol. iii. p. 47.

It follows, that in cases where the authorship of a piece is doubtful the dictum of the editor of *England's Parnassus* is not always to be relied upon; and that if he could make such palpable mistakes as these, he could fall into the same error in attributing lines of *Selimus* to Greene. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that several years had elapsed between the deaths of Greene and Marlowe and the publication of *England's Parnassus*; and as Marlowe and Greene were friends and inseparables, it is excusable that the editor of the anthology should attribute his *Selimus* quotations to Greene instead of to Marlowe. Of course, too, the absence of the author's name from the title page is a circumstance that would lend itself to such an error of attribution.

Marlowe not only borrowed much from *The Faerie Queene*, but what he borrowed frequently parallels or

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is marked by signs of the same distinctive character as are to be observed in the adaptations of Spenser in *Selimus*. These marks and these parallels are, as I take it, of sufficient authority in themselves to establish a common authorship for *Selimus* and the work that goes under Marlowe's name. Fortunately, however, we have very strong corroborative testimony in favour of Marlowe's claim, as I shall show further on.

Note how *Faustus* and *Selimus* borrow kindred material from the same canto of Spenser's poem, and how this material helps to give expression to the atheism that is rampant in both plays.

The following partly describes the appearance of Sir Trevisan after his escape from the Miscreaunt:—

> In fowle reproch of knighthoodes fair degree,
> About his neck an hempen rope he weares,
> That with his glistring armes does ill agree.
>
> Book I. canto ix. stanza xxii.

Compare:—

> Methought, Mustaffa, I beheld thy neck
> So often folded in my loving arms,
> In foul disgrace of Bashaw's fair degree
> With a vile halter basely compassed.
>
> "Selimus," ll. 2227-30.

The rope was put about Sir Trevisan's neck by the Miscreaunt, who was using all his wiles to tempt the knight to destroy himself. In *Faustus*

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we are to imagine Mephistophilis or the Evil Angel acting similarly with the Doctor, and with the same motive :—

> Then gan the Villein him to overcraw,
> And brought unto him swords, ropes, poison, fire,
> And all that might him to perdition draw, &c.
>
> Stanza l.

Compare :—

> "Faustus, thou art damn'd !" then swords, and knives,
> Poison, guns, halters, and envenom'd steel
> Are laid before me to despatch myself.
>
> Dyce, p. 88, col. 1, ed. 1604.

When his victims showed signs of wavering, the Miscreaunt, to draw them to perdition, would show them

> painted in a table plaine
> The damned ghosts that doe in torments waile,
> And thousand feends, that doe them endless paine
> With fire and brimstone, which for ever shall remaine.
>
> Stanza xlix.

Marlowe did not believe in hell : with him it was "a trifle and mere old wives' tale" (see Dyce, p. 87. col. 1), and Faustus further calls it a "fable" (same page and col.). Moreover, Spenser's description of the torments of the damned is remembered in the speech of the Evil Angel, p. 133, col. 2, commencing

> Now, Faustus, let thine eyes with horror stare, &c.

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Compare *Selimus* with *Faustus*, as well as with Spenser:—

> No no, I think the cave of damned ghosts,
> Is but a tale to terrify young babes;
> Like devils' faces scor'd on painted posts,
> Or feigned circles in our astrolabes.
>
> Lines 428-31.

The comparison could be carried much further, but what I have said will serve to show how intimately *Selimus* can be connected with *Faustus*. In *Selimus* Corcut the Philosopher seems to be a first faint shadowing of Dr. Faustus, just as Barabas of *The Jew of Malta* is the full development of Abraham the Jew poisoner.

A long string of parallels could be adduced to show how closely Marlowe copied *The Faerie Queene*, but I have only room to deal with those that connect themselves with *Selimus*. Yet here is one, noted by Mr. Bullen, which may be fitly compared with some of the coincidences I have brought from *Selimus* and Spenser:—

> He lowdly brayd with beastly yelling sownd,
> That all the fieldes rebellowed againe:
> As great a noyse, as when in Cymbrian plaine
> An heard of bulles, whom kindly rage doth sting,
> Doe for the milky mothers want complaine,
> And fill the fieldes with troublous bellowing.
>
> Book I. canto viii. stanza xi.

I'll make ye roar, that earth may echo forth
The far-resounding torments ye sustain;
As when an herd of lusty Cimbrian bulls
Run mourning round about the females' miss,
And stung with fury of their following,
Fill all the air with troublous bellowing.
"2 Tamb." IV. i. p. 63, col. 1, Dyce.

Note the following:—

As when almightie Iove, in wrathfull mood,
To wreake the guilt of mortall sins is bent,
Hurles forth his thundring dart with deadly food,
Enrold in flames, and smouldring dreriment.
Book I. canto viii. stanza ix.

And will you not, you all-beholding heavens,
Dart down on him your piercing lightning brand,
Enroll'd in sulphur, and consuming flames?

. . . .

And, in Thy justice, dart thy smouldring flame, &c.
"Selimus," ll. 1329-31 and 1446.

And bullets, like Jove's dreadful thunderbolts,
Enroll'd in flames and fiery smouldering mists.
"1 Tamb.," II. iii. p. 15, col. 1

Lo! I the man whose Muse whylome did maske,
As time her taught, in lowly shepheards weeds.
"The Faerie Queene," opening lines.

Jove sometime masked in a shepherd's weed.
"1 Tamb.," I. ii. p. 12, col. 1.

Poor prince, thou thoughtest in these disguised weeds
To mask unseen . . . .
. . . . hiding my estate in shepherd's coat.
"Selimus," ll. 2061-8.

Their scepters stretcht from east to westerne shore,
And all the world in their subjection held.
Book I. canto i. stanza v.

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Ay, though on all the world we make extent,
From the South-pole unto the Northern Bear's,
And stretch our reign from East to Western shore,
"Selimus," ll. 21-3.

Stretching your conquering arms from east to west.
"2 Tamb.," I. iii. p. 47, col. 2.

So from the East unto the furthest West
Shall Tamburlaine extend his puissant arm.
"1 Tamb.," III. iii. p. 25, col. 1.

The word "glut" with its variants occurs so many times in Marlowe's work as to constitute a feature by itself and a mark by which he can be known. Note how it comes in in *Selimus* and *Tamburlaine*, although Spenser does not use the word in the parallel passage:—

"But if that carelesse hevens," quoth she, "despise
The doome of just revenge, and take delight
To see sad pageaunts of mens miseries," &c.

. . . .

Pitifull spectacle of deadly smart,

. . . .

Pitifull spectacle, as ever eie did vew!
Book II. canto i. stanzas xxxvi and xl.

O! you dispensers of our hapless breath,
Why do ye *glut* your eyes and take delight
To see sad pageants of men's miseries?

. . . .

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Pitiful spectacle of sad dreeriment!
Pitiful spectacle of dismal death!
"Selimus," ll. 1277-80, and 1295-6.

Zeno. (*viewing the dead*). But see, another bloody spectacle!
Ah, wretched eyes, the enemies of my heart,
How are ye *glutted* with these grievous objects,
And tell my soul more tales of bleeding ruth!
"1 Tamb.," V. i. p. 35, col. 2.

Observe how beautifully Spenser is varied by both plays in the following case, and note that the first line of the *Selimus* speech repeats a different part of Spenser:—

O Thou, most auncient grandmother of all.
Book I. canto v. stanza xxii.

As does *Tamburlaine* in line 6:—

Enwrapt in coleblack clowds and filthy smoke.
Book I. canto xi. stanza xliv.

But I will quote, and clinch the parallel in the two plays more tightly together:—

Bajazet. Night! thou most ancient grandmother of all,
First made by Jove, for rest and quiet sleep,
When cheerful day is gone from th' earth's wide hall;
Henceforth thy mantle in black Lethe steep,
And clothe the world in darkness infernal.
"Selimus," ll. 1804-8.

O lightsome Day, the lampe of highest Jove,
First made by him mens wandring wayes to guyde,
When Darknesse he in deepest dongeon drove;

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> *Henceforth thy* hated face for ever hyde,
> *And* shut up heavens windowes shyning wyde.
>
> Book I. canto vii. stanza xxiii.

Add three lines from the preceding stanza to complete the parallel with *Tamburlaine*:—

> Now let the stony dart of sencelesse Cold
> Perce to my hart, and pas through everie side,
> And let eternall night so sad sight fro me hyde.

Compare:—

> *Bajazet.* O highest lamp of ever-living Jove,
> Accursed day, infected with my griefs,
> Hide now thy stained face in endless night,
> And shut the windows of the lightsome heavens!
> Let ugly Darkness with her rusty coach,
> Engirt with tempests, wrapt in pitchy clouds,
> Smother the earth with never-fading mists.
>
> . . . .
>
> Then let the stony dart of senseless cold
> Pierce through the centre of my wither'd heart,
> And make a passage for my loathed life!
>
> "1 Tamb.," V. 1. p. 35, col. 1.

Here is the completion of the parallel. The speeches in both plays are made by a Bajazeth, who has been deprived of his empery, and who is in a state of the utmost dejection and misery. The association is not a fancy of mine; it is an association deliberately made by the author of *Selimus*, who is, of course, Marlowe himself. But I will quote:—

> *Bajazet.* That woeful emperor first of my name,
> Whom the Tartarians locked in a cage
> To be a spectacle to all the world,
> Was ten times happier than I am.
> For Tamberlaine the scourge of nations, &c.
>
> Lines 1750-5.

Readers of *Tamburlaine* are only too familiar with the spectacle of Bajazeth "locked in a cage."

In 1 *Tamburlaine*, IV. iii., Dyce, p. 28, col. 2, the Soldan compares himself to a pilot in the haven, viewing a strange ship rent in the winds and shivered against the craggy rocks; and he follows up his metaphor by the registration of a vow, confirmed with holy Ibis's name. The figure and the vow were suggested by the following stanzas from *The Faerie Queene*, which are boldly copied, yet admirably varied, in *Selimus*:—

> *Britomart (viewing the raging sea).* Huge sea of sorrow and tempestuous griefe,
> Wherein my feeble barke is tossed long
> Far from the hoped haven of reliefe,
> Why doe thy cruel billowes beat so strong,
> And thy moyst mountaines each on others throng,
> Threatning to swallow up my fearefull lyfe?
> O, doe thy cruell wrath and spightfull wrong
> At length allay, and stint thy stormy strife,
> Which in these troubled bowels raignes and rageth ryfe!
>
> For els my feeble vessell, crazd and crackt
> Through thy strong buffets and outrageous blowes,

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Cannot endure, but needes it must be wrackt
On the rough rocks, or on the sandy shallowes,
The whiles that Love it steres, and Fortune rowes:
Love, my lewd pilott, hath a restlesse minde;
And Fortune, boteswaine, no assuraunce knowes;
But saile withouten starres gainst tyde and winde:
How can they other doe, sith both are bold and blinde!

Thou god of windes, that raignest in the seas,
That raignest also in the continent,
At last blow up some gentle gale of ease,
The which may bring my ship, ere it be rent,
Unto the gladsome port of her intent!
Then, when I shall myselfe in safety see,
A table, for eternall moniment
Of thy great grace and my great ieopardee,
Great Neptune, I vow to hallow unto thee!

Book III. canto iv. stanzas viii.-x.

Compare:—

Baj. You swelling seas of never-ceasing care,
Whose waves my weather-beaten ship do toss:
Your boistrous billows too unruly are,
And threaten still my ruin and my loss;
Like hugy mountains do your waters rear
Their lofty tops, and my weak vessel cross.
Alas! at length allay your stormy strife;
And cruel wrath within me raging rife.
Or else my feeble bark cannot endure,
Your flashing buffets and outrageous blows:
But while thy foamy flood doth it immure,
Shall soon be wrecked upon the sandy shallows.
Grief, my lewd boat-swain, stirreth nothing sure,
But without stars 'gainst tide and wind he rows,
And cares not though upon some rock we split:

A restless pilot for the charge unfit.
But out alas, the god that rules the seas,
And can alone this raging tempest stent,
Will never blow a gentle gale of ease,
But suffer my poor vessel to be rent.

"Selimus," ll. 1761-80.

Lest it should be imagined that the author of *Tamburlaine* would not avail himself of such lengthy passages from Spenser, I will prove that he did so. Dyce noticed the repetition by Marlowe of one of the stanzas that I shall adduce—the first one; but he overlooked the fact that the continuation of the speech in *Tamburlaine* is a free imitation of another part of *The Faerie Queene*:—

Upon the top of all his loftie crest,
A bounch of heares discolourd diversly,
With sprincled pearle and gold full richly drest,
Did shake, and seemd to daunce for iollity;
Like to an almond tree ymounted hye
On top of greene Selinis all alone,
With blossoms brave bedecked daintily;
Whose tender locks do tremble every one
At everie little breath, that under heaven is blowne.

Book I. canto vii. stanza xxxii.

So forth she comes, and to her coche does clyme,
Adorned all with gold and girlonds gay,
That seemed as fresh as Flora in her prime;
And strove to match, in roiall rich array,
Great Iunoes golden chayre; the which, they say,
The gods stand gazing on, when she does ride

> To Ioves high hous through heavens bras-paved way,
> Drawne of fayre pecocks, that excell in pride,
> And full of Argus eyes their tayles dispredden wide.
>
> Book I. canto iv. stanza xvii.

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In Marlowe thus :—

> *Tamb.* I'll ride in golden armour like the sun ;
> And in my helm a triple plume shall spring,
> Spangled with diamonds, dancing in the air,
> To note me emperor of the three-fold world ;
> Like to an almond-tree y-mounted high
> Upon the lofty and celestial mount
> Of ever-green Selinus, quaintly deck'd
> With blooms more white than Erycina's brows,
> Whose tender blossoms tremble every one
> At every little breath that thorough heaven is blown.
> Then in my coach, like Saturn's royal son
> Mounted his shining chariot gilt with fire,
> And drawn with princely eagles through the path
> Pav'd with bright crystal and enchas'd with stars,
> When all the gods stand gazing at his pomp,
> So will I ride through Samarcanda-streets.
>
> "2 Tamburlaine," IV. iii. p. 66, cols. 1, 2.

So much has been attributed to Marlowe, who lived but thirty years, that it may be asked, "How much more ?" My answer is that I only claim *Selimus* for him, in addition to the plays and poems in Dyce. Not only so : I assert that Marlowe had no hand in *Titus Andronicus* or the various versions of *Henry VI.* ; and I am prepared to prove my assertion. In these dramas Marlowe is merely copied by Shakespeare, who is their sole author.

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Selimus has all the appearance of being an older play than *Tamburlaine*, and therefore it seems to be the eldest of Marlowe's works. The construction "for to" with an infinitive occurs in *Selimus* no fewer than thirteen times, and several times the play has "for" in the sense of "because," and other bits of a phrasing that was fast dying out. This phrasing occurs but rarely in Marlowe's other work, but it is extremely common in Spenser, whom the author of the play imitates throughout. As a matter of fact, some of these turns of expression in *Selimus* can be proved to have been taken direct from *The Faerie Queene.*

Like 1 *Tamburlaine*, *Selimus* was written with an eye to continuation, and the remainder of the play was to follow, *provided* that Part I. pleased the "Gentles." But the "Gentles" apparently were not pleased, for nobody has ever heard of *Selimus*, Part II. The author's own words in his Prologue to Part II. of *Tamburlaine* are worth noting in this connexion, as they show clearly that this portion of his great drama would not have been written if the public had withheld their approval from Part I. :—

The general welcomes Tamburlaine receiv'd,
When he arrived last upon the stage,
Have made our author pen his Second Part.

It is possible, then, that the first part of *Selimus* proved to be a bad venture, and that Marlowe resolved to change his subject to one presenting similar aspects and capable of treatment on similar lines. In *Tamburlaine* we find such a subject, and a treatment that is identical in all its features with that displayed in *Selimus*, even to the minutest bits of phrasing.

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The author of *Selimus* was well acquainted with the life-story of the Scythian shepherd, whom he mentions three times in his play. Each time that he alludes to Tamburlaine, he does so in terms that instantly recall *Tamburlaine*:—

> For Tamberlaine the scourge of nations.
>
> . . . .
>
> Sprung from great Tamberlaine the Scythian thief.
>
> "Selimus," ll. 1754, 2449.

Marlowe thus:—

> Of Tamburlaine, that sturdy Scythian thief.
>
> . . . .
>
> "1 Tamb.," I. i. p. 7, col. 2.
>
> The scum of men, the hate and scourge of God,
>
> . . . .
>
> My lord, it is the bloody Tamburlaine,
> A sturdy felon, and a base-bred thief.
>
> "1 Tamb.," IV. iii. p. 28, col. 1.

Again, like Tamburlaine, Selimus is called a scourge:

> *Occhiali.* Selimus
> Is born to be a scourge unto them all.
> *Bajazet.* He's born to be a scourge to me and mine.
>
> Lines 480-82.

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and, Bajazet, when he reproaches his son with his unfilial conduct says he had once hoped that he would have proved

> A scourge and terror to mine enemies
>
> Line 589.

That, too, is *Tamburlaine* phrasing:—

> *Tamb.* When I am old and cannot manage arms,
> Be thou the *scourge and terror* of the world.
>
> "2 Tamb.," I. iii. p. 47, col. 1.

The *Selimus* Bajazet is, as I have shown, associated in the play with his namesake of *Tamburlaine*; nor does it forget to make a passing allusion to Usumcasane, one of Tamburlaine's devoted followers. In fact, outside myth and fable, and barring references to personages directly concerned with the play, *Selimus* makes allusions to only six historical names: Constantine, Mahomet, the great Sultan Ottoman (the founder of the Ottoman dynasty), Bajazet, Tamburlaine, and Usumcasane. The last three, of course, have been made immortal by Marlowe. Prester John, too, is mentioned in *Selimus* as well as in *Tamburlaine*, but he must be classed amongst the myths. Yet these allusions in *Selimus* show that the author would not experience much trouble in passing from one subject to the other.

The Conclusion of *Selimus* is neither more nor less than a forecast of *Tamburlaine*, expressed in terms

identical with those employed in the latter :—

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Thus have we brought victorious Selimus
Unto the crown of great Arabia ;
Next shall you see him with triumphant sword
Dividing kingdoms into equal shares,
And give them to his warlike followers.

Ll. 2566-70.

The Prologue to 1 *Tamburlaine* promises the spectacle of Tamburlaine

Scourging kingdoms with his conquering sword,

and in several places the play exhibits the Scythian conqueror dividing kingdoms into equal shares and giving them to his warlike followers. (See Dyce, p. 10, col. 1, and elsewhere.) "Great Arabia" is *Tamburlaine* phraseology, and the promise of the *Selimus* Conclusion is, if I mistake not, directly associated by the author with the speech he puts into Tamburlaine's mouth when that conqueror addresses his victorious generals :—

But, noble lord of *great Arabia*.
"1 Tamb.," IV. iii. p. 28, col. 2.

Tamb. And now, my lords and loving followers,
That purchas'd kingdoms by your martial deeds,
Cast off your armour, put on scarlet robes,
Mount up your royal places of estate, &c.
"1 Tamb.," V. ii. pp. 37-8.

These circumstances tell in favour of the priority of *Selimus* over *Tamburlaine*, and are worthy of con-

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sideration. Moreover, the strange words of Spenser and his peculiar phraseology are more prevalent in *Selimus* than in *Tamburlaine*, and I conclude, therefore, that Marlowe in the latter play was gradually drawing away from his master, although still greatly under his influence. A young writer would more closely imitate his master at first than afterwards. But let the student closely read the Prologue to Part I. of *Tamburlaine*, and he will, I think, conclude with me that it is not the production of a writer who was appealing to the public for the first time. This Prologue will also bear comparison with the Prologue to *Selimus*.

As in his other work, so in *Selimus*, Marlowe has subordinated everything in his play to the development of a single idea, which he has embodied in the character whose name is given to the play. It is the same idea as is personated in Tamburlaine and in the Duke of Guise—the lust of power or hunger for an earthly crown. Similarly, too, he makes Guise, Tamburlaine, and Selimus pronounced atheists, men who scorn religion, and only use it as a cloak to cover their designs. Add also that Guise and Selimus are ardent disciples of the teachings of Machiavelli.

The confession of faith made by Selimus in his great speech, ll. 235-385, is neither more nor less

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than an exposition by the author of his own beliefs and opinions; and the substance of this speech is condensed by Machiavel in the prologue to *The Jew of Malta*. It also finds a parallel in the long speech by Guise in *The Massacre at Paris*, Dyce, pp. 228, 229, and its sentiments and phrasing are echoed in many passages of Marlowe's acknowledged work. Moreover it is on record in an official document that Marlowe was in the habit of expressing his opinions in the very words that he has put into the mouth of Selimus.

Greene might have written, and very possibly did write, *Locrine*, and a strong case could be made out for him as its author; but he is impossible as the author of *Selimus*. Compared with his work generally, but especially with his plays, the style of *Selimus* is severe simplicity itself; and its sustained power and vigorous phrasing are things which Greene in his wildest dreams could never hope to aspire to or even imitate. Besides, Greene was not a proselytizing atheist who vented his opinions in all companies, nor was he a follower of Machiavelli. Indeed, he had such an aversion to Marlowe's opinions that he went out of his way to make the fact publicly known. In *The Groatsworth of Wit* Greene admonishes Marlowe to abandon atheism and to guide his life and

his thoughts by other and better precepts than those of "pestilent Machivilian policie." It is quite clear from his writings that Greene was not an atheist of the aggressive type that Marlowe was, and that his argumentative powers were not equal to the composition of the singularly powerful plea against religion made by Selimus.

Marlowe's irreligious views were notorious among his contemporaries, and we find one of his enemies, a Richard Bame or Banes, laying an information against him on that score, one of the counts in the indictment being that he (Marlowe) had frequently remarked "that the firste beginnynge of Religion was only to keep men in awe" (Marlowe's *Works*, Dyce, p. 389, Appendix II.). Bame or Banes asserts that this was one of Marlowe's "common speeches," as "shall by good and honest men be proved"; that he preached atheism in all companies, and scorned both God and man, "willinge them not to be afrayed of *bugbeares* and hobgoblins." Now, those very words are used by Selimus in the speech already referred to, where he says that the names of gods, religion, heaven, and hell were first devised to make men live "*in* quiet *awe*," and that religious observations are

> Only *bug-bears to keep* the world *in fear*,
> And make *men* quietly a yoke to bear.
>
> Ll. 340-1.

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The case for Marlowe as against Greene does not need further argument.

Marlowe affected a supreme contempt for religion, and he ransacked a copious vocabulary to give that contempt expression. In his acknowledged work he refers to it as a toy, a fable, an old wives' tale, a mere sound without a definite meaning; and he tells us he was ashamed of men who paid heed to such foolery. I will quote:—

> *Guise.* My policy hath fram'd religion.
> Religion! *O Diabole!*
> Fie, I am asham, however that I seem,
> To think a word of such a simple sound,
> Of so great matter should be made the ground!
>
> "The Massacre at Paris," p. 228, col. 2.

> *Machiavel.* I count religion but a childish toy,
> And hold there is no sin but ignorance.
> . . . .
> I am ashamed to hear such fooleries.
>
> Prologue, "The Jew of Malta."

Compare:—

> I count it sacrilege, for to be holy,
> Or reverence this thread-bare name of good;
> Leave to old men and babes that kind of folly,
> Count it of equal value with the mud.
> . . . .
> And scorn religion; it disgraces man.
> . . . .
> So that religion, of itself a bauble, &c.
>
> "Selimus," ll. 249-52, 255, and 342.

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Again:—

> *Sinam.* There is a hell and a revenging God.
> *Selimus.* Tush Sinam! these are school conditions,
> To fear the devil or his cursed dam.
>
> "Selimus," ll. 422-4.

One is reminded of Tamburlaine's boast:—

> There is a God, full of revenging wrath,
> From whom the thunder and the lightning breaks,
> Whose scourge I am.
>
> "2 Tamb.," V. i. p. 69, col. 2.

In *Tamburlaine*, *Edward II*, and *The Massacre at Paris*, as well as in *Selimus*, Marlowe's idea of ultimate happiness never reaches beyond the possession of an earthly crown, in which he centred all joy. In his philosophy there was no room for heaven or hell. And, he argued, if there be a heaven, the joys of heaven are not to be compared with kingly joys on earth. See Tamburlaine's speech, Dyce, p. 18, col. 2, commencing

> The thirst of reign and sweetness of a crown, &c.

With him the crown is "the ripest fruit of all"; it is "perfect bliss and sole felicity"; and to obtain the prize all things are lawful that favour the end. Compare what follows:—

> *Tamb.* Is it not passing brave to be a king?
>
> . . . .
>
> *Tech.* O, my lord, it is sweet and full of pomp!

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Usum. To be a king is half to be a god.
Ther. A god is not so glorious as a king;
I think the pleasures they enjoy in heaven,
Cannot compare with kingly joys in earth.

"1 Tamb.," Act II. sc. v. p. 17, col. 2.

Sel. Yet by my soul it never should me grieve,
So I might on the Turkish empire reign,
To enter hell, and leave fair heaven's gain.
An Empire, Sinam, is so sweet a thing,
As I could be a devil to be a King.

"Selimus," ll. 436-40.

I am reminded again of *Tamburlaine*:—

Cel. If his chair [=throne] were in a sea of blood,
I would prepare a ship and sail to it,
Ere I would lose the title of a king, &c.

"2 Tamb.," I. iii. p. 47, col. 2.

Faustus, too, became a "devil" to be a mighty magician, having sold his soul to Lucifer for "the vain pleasure of four and twenty years"; and Barabas was such a covetous wretch that, to use his own words, he would "for lucre's sake have sold my soul." Even Barabas is an atheist, for he counsels his daughter to use religion as a cloak, which

Hides many mischiefs from suspicion.

Again, Selimus, when he has attained to the crown, compares his labours and his reward with the labours and reward of Hercules, who obtained Hebe for his

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bride and a place with the gods in heaven. *Selimus* would not change places with Hercules:—

> *This* is my Hebe, and *this* is my heaven.
>
> Line 1674.

He refers to the crown.

In Marlowe's philosophy might is right, and tyranny the only sure prop to the throne:—

> *Machiavel.* Might first made kings, and laws were then *most sure*
> *When*, like the Draco's, they were writ in blood.
>
> Prologue, "The Jew of Malta."

> *Sel.* And think that then thy Empire is *most sure*
> *When* men for fear thy tyranny endure.
>
> "Selimus," ll. 240-1.

Moreover, all men are enemies who do not hate, and actively assist you against, your rivals or opponents:

> *K. Edw.* They love me not that hate my Gaveston.
>
> "Edward II," p. 195, col. 1.

> *Sel.* He loves not me that loves mine enemies.
>
> "Selimus," l. 2310.

Note, too, what Barabas says in relation to his daughter, who enters a nunnery, and calls upon him to repent of his sins:—

> 'Tis time that it be seen into;
> For she that varies from me in belief,
> Gives great presumption that she loves me not, &c.
>
> "The Jew of Malta," Act III. p. 162, col. 2.

Much is made of this sentiment in Marlowe.

Trickery, too, is a commendable thing in the pursuit of one's aims; and therefore, if you play cards with your friend the enemy, shuffle them in such a way as to deal yourself all the trumps:—

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> *Guise.* Then, Guise,
> Since thou hast all the cards within thy hands,
> To shuffle or cut, take this as surest thing,
> That, right or wrong, thou deal thyself a king.
>
> "The Massacre at Paris," p. 229, col. 1.

Compare:—

> *Sel.* Will Fortune favour me yet once again?
> And will she thrust the cards into my hands?
> Well, if I chance but once to get the deck,
> To deal about and shuffle as I would;
> Let Selim never see the daylight spring,
> Unless I shuffle out myself a king.
>
> "Selimus," ll. 1538-43.

Often, when comparing Marlowe's plays and poems with each other, I have been struck by the close manner in which *Dido* repeats *Tamburlaine*, and it has occurred to me that perhaps the author worked concurrently at the two dramas, and threw *Dido* aside to get on with other work. Although Marlowe left *Dido* unfinished at his death, it is pretty safe to say that his friend Thomas Nashe, who completed it, added but little to the play. *Dido* and *Tamburlaine* resemble one another in phrasing; and in both plays the phrasing is different from what

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we find in other parts of Marlowe's work. Occasionally a whole line of one play is repeated or nearly repeated in the other. Note, for instance, the following:—

> *Tamb.* And clothe it in a crystal livery.
> "2 Tamb.," I. iii. p. 46, col. 2.
>
> *Æn.* And clad her in a crystal livery.
> "Dido," V. p. 270, col. 1.

And not unseldom we come across bits like these, which enable us to pick out with precision parts of *Dido* that were certainly penned by Marlowe:—

> *Tamb.* But then run desperate through the thickest throngs,
> Dreadless of blows, of bloody wounds, and death.
> "2 Tamb.," III. ii. p. 56, col. 1.
>
> *Æn.* Yet flung I forth, and, desperate of my life,
> Ran in the thickest throngs, and, &c.
> "Dido," II. p. 258, col. 1.

The scene from which the latter passage is taken is undoubtedly by Marlowe entirely, and parts of it copy from Spenser.

Dido also contains repetitions of other pieces by Marlowe, as the following will show:—

> *Æn.* Threatening a thousand deaths at every glance.
> "Dido," II. p. 258, col. 1.
>
> Threatening a thousand deaths at every glance.
> "Hero and Leander," 1st Sest., l. 382.

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> *Faust.* Sweet Helen, make me immortal with a kiss.
> "Dr. Faustus," p. 99, col. 2.
>
> *Dido.* And he'll make me immortal with a kiss.
> "Dido," IV. p. 269, col. 1.

Hence it is apparent not only that Marlowe repeats himself occasionally, but that the repetitions in *Dido* are a certain guide to portions of the tragedy that are from his hand. That being so, I will now compare *Dido* with *Selimus*:—

> *Dido.* And wilt thou not be mov'd with Dido's words?
> Thy mother was no goddess, perjur'd man,
> Nor Dardanus the author of thy stock;
> But thou art sprung from Scythian Caucasus,
> And tigers of Hyrcania gave thee suck.
> "Dido," V. p. 272, col. 1.
>
> *Zonara.* Thou art not, false groom, son to Bajazet;
> He would relent to hear a woman weep,
> But thou wast born in desert Caucasus,
> And the Hyrcanian tigers gave thee suck;
> Knowing thou wert a monster like themselves.
> "Selimus," ll. 1235-9

Of course, both plays are indebted here and elsewhere to Virgil, who is translated by the Earl of Surrey, thus:—

> Faithless! forsworn! ne goddess was thy dam!
> Nor Dardanus beginner of thy race!
> But of hard rocks mount Caucase monstruous
> Bred thee, and teats of tyger gave thee suck.
> "Æneid," Book IV.

But the point is that the passage is used in the same

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manner in each play, that it is translated in the same language, and reflects vividly the self-same style. It corroborates the other evidence that I have adduced in favour of Marlowe as the sole author of *Selimus*; and it tends to show that portions of *Dido* and *Selimus* were composed about the same time. The lines are paralleled again in *Edward II.*, p. 219, col. 2, where the king tells Lightborn that the story of what he (the king) has had to endure would melt a heart hewn from the Caucasus, and make it relent at his misery.

For style and phrasing compare the following, and note how Guise and Selimus echo each other again:—

> *Guise. Let mean* conceits *and baser men* fear death:
> Tut, they are peasants; *I* am Duke of Guise.
> "Massacre at Paris," p. 242, col. 1.
>
> *Selimus. Let* Mahound's laws be locked up in their case,
> And *meaner men and* of a *baser* spirit,
> In virtuous actions seek for glorious merit,
> *I* count it, &c. "Selimus," ll. 246-9.
>
> *Guise.* I am a juror in the holy league,
> And therefore hated of the Protestants:
> What should I do but stand upon my guard?
> "Massacre of Paris," p. 240, col. 1.
>
> *Sel.* But for I see the Schoolmen are prepar'd
> To plant 'gainst me their bookish ordinance,
> I mean to stand on a sententious guard.
> "Selimus," ll. 303-5.

Thirsting with sovereignty and love of arms.
"1 Tamb.," II. i. p. 13, col. 1.

Love of rule, and kingly sovereignty.
"Selimus," l. 200.

But when the imperial lion's flesh is gor'd,
He rends and tears it with his wrathful paw.
"Edward II," p. 212, col. 2.

As when a lion, rav'ning for his prey,
Falleth upon a drove of horned bulls,
And rends them strongly in his kingly paws.
"Selimus," ll. 2495-7.

As princely lions, when they rouse themselves,
Stretching their paws, and threatening herds of beasts,
&c. "1 Tamb.," I. ii. p. 10, col. 1.

And in your shields display your rancorous minds?
"Edward II," p. 195, col. 1.

Charactering honour in his batt'red shield.
"Selimus," l. 56.

Zeno. Sweet Tamburlaine, when wilt thou leave these arms?

. . . .

Tamb. When heaven shall cease to move on both the poles,
And when the ground, whereon my soldiers march,
Shall rise aloft and touch the horned moon;
And not before, my sweet Zenocrate.
"2 Tamb.," p. 46, col. 2.

Sel. Queen of Amasia, wilt thou yield thyself?
Queen. First shall the overflowing Euripus
Of sweet Eubœa stop his restless course,

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And Phœb's bright globe bring the day from the West,
And quench his hot flames in the Eastern sea.
"Selimus," ll. 2383-7.

Send out thy furies from thy fiery hall;
The pitiless Erynnis arm'd with whips
And all the damned monsters of black hell.
"Selimus," ll. 1320-2.

In few, the blood of Hydra, Lerna's bane,
The juice of hebon, and Cocytus' breath,
And all the poisons of the Stygian pool, &c.
"The Jew of Malta," III. p. 164, col. 1.

Then haste, Cosroe, to be king alone.
"1 Tamb.," II. iii. p. 15, col. 2.

Now I am king alone, and none but I.
"Selimus," l. 2520.

And seek not to enrich thy followers
By lawless rapine from a silly maid.
"1 Tamb.," I. ii. p. 9, col. 2.

Enrich thy soldiers with robberies.
"Selimus," l. 2380.

I know, sir, what it is to kill a man;
It works remorse of conscience in me, &c.
"2 Tamb.," IV. i. p. 61, col. 1.

So this is well: for I am none of those
That make a conscience for to kill a man, &c.
"Selimus," ll. 1729-30.

Valiant Theridamas,
The chief captain of Mycetes' host.
"1 Tamb.," (4to version), Dyce, p. 7, col. 2.

Ottrante is my name;
Chief captain of the Tartar's mighty host.
"Selimus," ll. 711-2.

For he is gross and like the massy earth
That moves not upwards, nor by princely deeds
Doth mean to soar above the highest sort.
"1 Tamb.," II. vii. p. 18, col. 2.

Oh! th' are two wings wherewith I use to fly,
And soar above the common sort.
"Selimus," ll. 1738-9.

That e'er made passage thorough Persian arms!
These are the wings shall make it fly, &c.
"1 Tamb.," II. iii. p. 15, col. 2.

And hewing passage through the Persians.
"Selimus," l. 2494.

Who made the channel overflow with blood.
"Edward II," p. 209, col. 1.

The channels run like riverets of blood.
"Selimus," l. 1307.

When she that rules in Rhamnus' golden gates.
"1 Tamb.," II. iii. p. 15, col. 1.

Chief patroness of Ramus' golden gates.
"Selimus," l. 682.

I hold the Fates bound fast in iron chains,
And with my hand turn Fortune's wheel about.
"1 Tamb.," I. ii. p. 11. col. 2.

Thou hast not Fortune tied in a chain.
"Selimus," l. 2420.

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Begin betimes; Occasion's bald behind:
Slip not thine opportunity, &c.
"The Jew of Malta," V. p. 175, col. 2.

Wisdom commands to follow tide and wind,
And catch the front of swift Occasion, &c.
"Selimus," ll. 274-5.

I'll disinherit him and all the rest;
For I'll rule France, but they shall wear the crown,
And, if they storm, I then may pull them down.
"Massacre at Paris," p. 235, col. 1.

Then, Selimus, take thou it [the crown] in his stead;
And if at this thy boldness he dare frown,
Or but resist thy will, then pull him down.
"Selimus," ll. 265-7.

In whose sweet person is compris'd the sum
Of Nature's skill and heavenly majesty.
"1 Tamb.," V. i. p. 32, col. 1.

It cannot be, that he in whose high thoughts
A map of many valours is enshrin'd, &c.
"Selimus," ll. 181-2.

The chiefest god, first mover of that sphere, &c.
"1 Tamb.," IV. ii. p. 26, col. 2.

But oh thou Supreme Architect of all,
First mover of those tenfold crystal orbs,
Where all those moving and unmoving eyes, &c.
"Selimus," ll. 1440-2.

By heaven, and all the moving orbs thereof, &c.
"Edward II," p. 204, col. 2.

Earth's barrenness, and all men's hatred,
Inflict upon them, thou great *Primus Motor!*
"The Jew of Malta," p. 150, col. 1.

Whose shape is figure of the highest God.
"2 Tamb.," II. ii. p. 50, col. 2.

And please the anger of the highest God.
"Selimus," l. 2148.

Nor yet thyself, the anger of the Highest.
"2 Tamb.," V. i. p. 68, col. 2.

So surely will the vengeance of the Highest,
And jealous anger of his fearful arm, &c.
"2 Tamb.," II. i. p. 50, col. 1.

By that blessed Christ,
And by the tomb where He was buried, &c.
. . . .
By the holy rites of Mahomet,
His wondrous tomb, and sacred Alcoran.
"Selimus," ll. 1964-5 and 1170-1.

By Mahomet my kinsman's sepulchre,
And by the holy Alcoran I swear, &c.
"1 Tamb.," III. iii. p. 22, col. 2.
Also see "2 Tamb.," I. i. p. 45, col. 1.

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And so on, through many pages, for I have not nearly exhausted the list of parallel passages that could be cited from *Selimus* and Marlowe's works.

I claim that *Selimus* is by Christopher Marlowe, and not by Robert Greene; and I humbly suggest that it is Marlowe's first play, and was immediately followed by *The First Part of Tamburlaine.*

In conclusion, I have to add that, although I did not know it until after I had made out the relation between *Selimus* and *Locrine*, a relation had been

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discovered by Mr. Daniel, who announced it in the *Athenæum* of 16 April, 1898. Moreover, Mr. Churton Collins knew that both *Locrine* and *Selimus* were indebted to Spenser, and he deals with the matter in his edition of Greene. I have not yet seen Mr. Collins's evidence, nor have I ever had access to Mr. Daniel's note in the *Athenæum*. Nobody, however, seems to have ever thought of Marlowe as the author of *Selimus*—a fact which strikes me as being very strange.

The Authorship of "Arden of Feversham"

In his discussion of this "Pseudo-Shakespearean" play, Mr. Bullen remarks: "Elizabethan literature abounds in difficulties for the student, but the question of the authorship of *Arden of Feversham* is, perhaps, the hardest difficulty of all." It may be that students have not gone the right way to work; or, that they were not lucky enough to strike a trail that would have led them straight on to their goal. I believe I have got on the right track, and I think the evidence in my possession warrants me in claiming that I have solved this difficult problem. *Arden of Feversham*, according to my evidence, was written by Thomas Kyd.

As *Arden of Feversham* appeared anonymously, and contemporaries are silent as to its author, the question is, how are we to decide the matter, what kind of evidence is most likely to settle the question of authorship? I answer, parallels. But we are at once confronted with one of Mr. Bullen's difficulties. "The testimony of parallel passages," he says, "is like the evidence given by experts in handwriting

before a jury : it is always expected, it is always produced, and it is seldom regarded." I answer again, there are parallels *and* parallels. But I will put a question. Why have students and critics refused up to now to recognize that *Arden of Feversham* was written by Thomas Kyd? Because they could not find that the play repeated Kyd's phrases, his tricks of expression, his humour, and the general style of his known work. But what if the play *does* echo Kyd in every way, what then? I leave the reader to answer that question when he has read the whole of this paper.

I did not know until I was told so by Mr. P. A. Daniel that *Arden of Feversham* was claimed for Kyd by Mr. Fleay; and I had worked out all my proofs before I became aware of the grounds upon which Mr. Fleay had assigned the play to Kyd. It is no small satisfaction to me to know that my independent investigation should have resulted in agreement with Mr. Fleay's conclusion, who worked along different lines from mine; and I congratulate myself on having his powerful support in my opinion.

At the outset, I will draw attention to a significant circumstance, a judicial proceeding, that throws a very curious sidelight on the authorship of *The Spanish Tragedie* and *Arden of Feversham*. In the

light of the evidence that I shall adduce, this judicial proceeding is concerned with nothing more and nothing less than a quarrel between rival publishers over the same author's work. On 18 December, 1592, Edward White was fined 10s. for publishing an edition of *The Spanish Tragedie*, which belonged by right of purchase to Abel Jeffes; and on the same date and before the same Court Abel Jeffes was adjudged to pay the same sum to Edward White for unlawfully publishing an edition of *Arden of Feversham*, which was the property of the latter. The Court also ordered all copies of the two pirated plays to be confiscated. No copy of the confiscated *Arden* seems to have come down to us; but there is an undated copy of *The Spanish Tragedie* in existence which may belong to the edition that was in question before the Court. It is likely, too, that the undated quarto of *Soliman and Perseda* belongs to the same year as the other two plays, and that they were the result of Edward White's attempt to profit by the popularity of Kyd's dramatic work. It is very curious that Jeffes and White should have quarrelled over these two plays, and at the same time; one a work known to have been written by Kyd, and the other a play now claimed for him. I hold that this quarrel is a link in the chain of proof that establishes

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Kyd's right to be considered as the author of *Arden of Feversham*, and as such I leave it, to be tested with the other evidence that I shall adduce hereafter.

Now let us try to get a glimpse at the author; what he was, and what were his qualifications for writing such a play as *Arden of Feversham*.

The play is one that deals largely with the doings of servants, and the author throughout shows us very plainly that he was intimately acquainted with the inner life of a great or rich man's household. He knew the ways of servants, and he knew well the duties of their calling, and the manner of their speech. Here it is necessary to say that *Arden of Feversham* was licensed to be printed on 3 April, 1592. At that very time Kyd was in the service of a nobleman; and the nature of his employment was such that it necessitated his being one of his patron's household. We know this from his letter to Sir John Puckering, which must have been written after 1 June, 1593, seeing that it refers to Christopher Marlowe as if he were then dead. Poor Kit Marlowe was killed in a brawl on that date, and in the Puckering letter Kyd, to justify himself from a charge of atheism, attacks the memory of his friend, and saddles Marlowe with the authorship of "some fragments of a disputation" which were found amongst his own

papers. Kyd, a few years previously, in 1588, attempted to show his fitness for a position in a noble or wealthy family by translating Tasso's work on housekeeping. When one sits down and peruses this work, as rendered by Kyd, it reads curiously like an advertisement for a situation; and, therefore, it is just possible that his pamphlet obtained him his post. Be that as it may, Kyd, a servant in a house that employed many other servants would be peculiarly fitted to write about servants.

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The author was also well acquainted with the law, as is proved by his familiar use of legal terms and technicalities. He opens his play with a speech referring to a lease of lands, and further on he describes the terms of this lease in language that can only be properly appreciated by persons acquainted with the draughting of legal documents. Now, Kyd was the son of a scrivener, and he was nursed into the occupation of his father. In his other work the same knowledge of the law often obtrudes itself on our notice. The scrivener Kyd, then, could have been responsible for the legal phraseology in *Arden of Feversham.*

To sum up, Kyd the scrivener and the servant of "my lord," wrote *Arden of Feversham* whilst he was in service, and probably towards the end of 1591, or the beginning of 1592. Now to the proof.

The Authorship of "Arden of Feversham"

Arden of Feversham is founded upon Holinshed's realistic narrative of the murder of Master Arden, which it follows very closely. This undisputed fact brings us face to face with another fact, of great importance, which has, apparently, never been noticed by critics and editors of Kyd's work. On 28 June, 1592, three months after the licensing of *Arden of Feversham*, a Mrs. Anne Brewen, née Welles, was burned at Smithfield for the murder of her husband; and at the same time and place her paramour, John Parker, was hanged, he being the instigator of the crime. Kyd evinced an extraordinary interest in this domestic tragedy, and no wonder, for its main details, as he describes them, bear a most striking resemblance to the murder of Master Arden. His pamphlet was licensed to be printed the very day that the murderers were executed, although he put final touches to it a few days afterwards, as is clear from his words near the end of it, where he says, "they were executed on Wednesday last."

With some divergences, the stories in Holinshed, *Arden of Feversham*, and Kyd's *The Murder of John Brewen*, have a similar outline. A woman gives her husband poison in a mess of sops at breakfast-time, her object being to get rid of him and to be free to marry her lover, who is accessory to the crime. In

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Holinshed and the play, the husband dislikes the taste and colour of the sops, and does not take sufficient of the mess to kill him; but, eventually, he is dispatched by other means. In the pamphlet, the poison does its work; yet, in all three stories the guilty woman, by accident or design, upsets the poisoned pottage. Alice Arden, after all, does not marry Mosbie, nor does John Parker make Anne Brewen his wife; and, finally, both women are burned at the stake, and their lovers are hanged.

In the main, we may rely upon the accuracy of Kyd's account of the murder of Brewen; but as he puts speeches and sayings into the mouths of Anne Brewen and John Parker that are also uttered by Alice Arden and others in the play, but not in Holinshed, we are entitled to assume that he is merely repeating himself, and quite consciously, too, in his pamphlet. Moreover, *The Murder of John Brewen* copies from Holinshed matter that is omitted in *Arden of Feversham*.

The title and sub-title to *John Brewen* can be picked out in almost the same words from Holinshed:

"About thys time there was at *Feversham* in *Kent* a Gentleman named Arden most cruelly murthered and slaine by the procurement of hys owne wife."

Kyd's title reads thus:—

"The trueth of the most wicked and secret murthering of John Brewen, Goldsmith of London, committed by his owne wyfe, through the provocation of John Parker, &c."

Kyd's description of the personal appearance of Anne Brewen is much like Holinshed's description of Master Arden and his wife :—

"Thys Arden was a manne of a tall and comelye personage, and matched in maryage with a Gentlewoman yong, tall, and well favoured of shape and countenance, &c."—Holinshed.

"There was of late dwelling in London a proper young woman named Anne Welles, which for her favour and comely personage, as also in regard of her good behaviour and other commendable qualities, &c." —Kyd.

Note, too, how Kyd commences his description, and compare again with Holinshed :—

"There was a Painter dwelling in *Feversham*, &c."

Several bits of like phrasing occur in both writers, and in contexts that are similar : they prove, when taken together, that Kyd wrote his pamphlet with his eye on Holinshed. Is not it very strange, if Kyd did not write *Arden of Feversham*, that he should consult the very story that forms the foundation of the play for material for his pamphlet ; and, further, that he should put into the latter images, words, phrases, and ideas that are absent from Holinshed but present in *Arden*? Again, why does *Arden of Feversham* constantly repeat *The Spanish Tragedie*

and *Soliman and Perseda*; and why does it so often go to the same authors for inspiration, if Kyd did not compose the play?

The Authorship of "Arden of Feversham"

A comparison between the pamphlet and *Arden* will show many concurring particulars, which become valuable when viewed in relation to the more important evidence which now demands attention.

In the pamphlet, Anne Brewen preferred John Parker to John Brewen; or, as Kyd puts it,

> "No man was so high in her books as John Parker."

In *Arden*, Alice advises Clarke to go and court Susan, and assures him that his rival, Michael, is "clean out of her [Susan's] books." When Parker heard that Anne had given her promise to marry Brewen, he

> "stormed most outragiously, and with bitter speeches so taunted and checkt her, &c."

"Checked his wife," and "taunted your husband," are phrases that occur in *Arden of Feversham*; and when one turns to Holinshed it is possible to trace a hint for the description of Parker's anger. There Black Will comes to Greene

> "in a great chafe swearing and staring bycause he was so deceyved, and with many terrible othes, &c."

Both women, eager to be rid of their husbands, "put in practise" to dispatch him, and they "never rest"

till the murder is accomplished. After the murder of Brewen, Parker was so insolent and overbearing that Anne

> "durst not denie him anything he requested, and became so jelious that, had shee lookt but merely upon a man, shee should have known the price thereof, and have bought her merrement deerely."

Parker

> "had her at commandement whensoever he would, and yet could she scant please him with her diligence."

The play can be made to illustrate the pamphlet exactly, even to the phrasing :—

> *Alice.* (*to* ARDEN) There's nothing that I do can please your taste;
> You were best to say I would have poisoned you.
> I cannot speak or cast aside my eye,
> But he imagines I have stepped awry.
>
> Act I. ll. 369-72, Dent.

Again :—

> *Alice.* (*to* ARDEN) If I be merry, thou straightways thinks me light;
> If sad, thou sayest the sullens trouble me;
> If well attired, thou thinks I will be gadding:
> If homely, I seem sluttish in thine eye:
> Thus am I still, and shall be while I die.
> Poor wench abused by thy misgovernment!
>
> Act IV. sc. iv. ll. 107-112.

The phrase to "buy merrement dearely," occurs in a speech by Black Will :—

And he shall buy his merriment as dear
As ever coistril bought such sport.

Act III. sc. ii. ll. 40-41.

Parker and Anne quarrel, and in reply to the woman's request that he should marry her, and so save her credit and his own, Parker says,

"'I would be twice advised how I did wed with such a strumpet as thy selfe,' and then reviled her most shamefully. Whereunto shee answered *shee had never been strumpet but for him*; 'and *wo worth* thee' (quoth she) 'that ever I knewe thee, it is thou and no other man else that can triumph in my spoyle.'"

In *Arden of Feversham*, Mosbie and Alice quarrel in like manner, and the latter reviles Mosbie, taunting him with his low birth and calling. Alice, too, expresses regret that ever she knew Mosbie, and she uses Anne's own words in the same connexion:—

I was bewitched: *woe worth* the hapless hour
And all the causes that enchanted me!

Act III. sc. v. ll. 78-79.

Here is the completion of the parallel:—

Mosbie. Convey me from the presence of that strumpet.
Alice. Ah, *but for thee I had never been a strumpet.*

Act V. sc. v. ll. 13-14.

Again, Parker tells Anne that he means to keep out of her fingers as long as he can, because if he were to marry her she would poison him as she poisoned her husband. This argument is also used by Mosbie:

I may not trust you, Alice:
You have supplanted Arden for my sake,
And will extirpen me to plant another.
'Tis fearful sleeping in a serpent's bed,
And I will cleanly rid my hands of her.

Act III. sc. v. ll. 39-43.

Finally, the pamphlet and the play both make use of a saying that occurs in Kyd many times, that blood cries for vengeance:—

"—bloud is an unceassant crier in the eares of the Lord, and he will not leave so vilde a thing [as murder] unpunished."

And, again, both passages being from *John Brewen*:

"—the blood of the just Abel cried most shrill in the eares of the righteous God for vengeance and revenge on the murderer."

The following is from the play:—

Mayor. See Mistress Arden, where your husband lies;
Confess this foul fault and be penitent.
Alice. Arden, sweet husband, what shall I say?
The more I sound his name, the more he bleeds:
This blood condemns me, and in gushing forth
Speaks as it falls, and asks me why I did it.

Act V. sc. iii. 1-6.

Compare the Mayor's speech with the speech of Hieronimo, *Spanish Tragedie*, III. vi. 24-26 (Boas):—

Stand forth, thou monster, murderer of men,
And heere, for satisfaction of the world,
Confesse thy folly, and repent thy fault.

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To conclude this part of the case, I think we may say with certainty that Kyd in *John Brewen* took as his model for the pamphlet the narrative of the murder of Arden in Holinshed; and that he made fanciful additions to it by associating its main incidents with similar incidents in *Arden of Feversham*, which we know but too well very faithfully follows the terribly dramatic story told by Holinshed. I turn now to Kyd's plays.

An exhaustive and painstaking examination of Kyd's work as a whole convinces me that *The Spanish Tragedie*, and, perhaps, *Soliman and Perseda*, as we know them now, are old plays revised. However that may be, it can be proved that they did not assume any of their known forms prior to the year 1590. *Soliman and Perseda* was either wholly written about 1591, or it was thoroughly overhauled in that year. These two plays copy matter from Edmund Spenser, Thomas Watson, Christopher Marlowe, and others; and what they borrow enables us to say with confidence that they borrowed part of it after 1590. It is to be found in all known editions of the plays. As regards order, *Arden of Feversham* follows *Soliman and Perseda*, and it must have followed it very closely, because the two plays use the same vocabulary throughout.

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To turn back to Mr. Bullen's saying respecting the value of parallels, the Marlowe authorship of *Arden* is rejected on the ground that it does not contain more than one passage that reflects Marlowe's style. The passage quoted is from *The Jew of Malta*. It is quite evident that this statement was made without taking into account the best of all Marlowe's plays, *Edward II.*, which, if I can trust to gross imitations of it that I have found in Shakespeare, Lodge, Peele and others, must have created quite a sensation amongst dramatic writers at the time of its appearance. Now we shall see the value of parallels. There are at least thirty passages in *Arden of Feversham* that were directly inspired by *Edward II.* But that does not prove that Marlowe had a hand in the play, for quite as many bits of *Edward II.* can be picked out of *Soliman and Perseda.* A glance at these parallels will show that there has been gross copying by Kyd, neither of whose plays can be dated prior to 1591. The accepted date for *Edward II.* is 1590; and the passages are all written in Marlowe's style, not in Kyd's. These borrowings in *Arden of Feversham* and *Soliman and Perseda* are cumulative evidence in favour of Kyd's authorship of the former play; and they add strength, if such strength be needed, to the testimony of Holinshed and *John Brewen*, and to the

probabilities of the case, as referred to at the beginning of this paper. I will quote only a few cases, and merely for the purpose of bearing out my statement that Kyd has copied Marlowe.

Alice. I have my wish in that I joy thy sight.
"Arden," V. i. 342.

K. Edward. I have my wish, in that I joy thy sight.
"Edward II," Dyce, p. 185, col. 1.

Will. I am so heavy that I can scarce go;
This drowsiness in me bodes little good.
"Arden," III. ii. 16-17.

Y. Spenser. Baldock, this drowsiness
Betides no good: even here we are betray'd.
"Edward II," p. 211, col. 1.

Alice. I shall no more be closed in Arden's arms,
That like the snakes of black Tisiphone
Sting me with their embracings!
"Arden," V. i. 149-51.

K. Edw. But, if proud Mortimer do wear this crown,
Heavens turn it to a blaze of quenchless fire!
Or, like the snaky wreath of Tisiphon,
Engirt the temples of his hateful head!
"Edward II," p. 213, col. 1.

Alice. Is this the end of all thy solemn oaths?
Is this the fruit thy reconcilement buds?
"Arden," I. ll. 186-7.

Kent. Is this the love you bear your sovereign?
Is this the fruit your reconcilement bears?
"Edward II," p. 195, col. 1.

A parallel to the last quotation is also to be found in *The Spanish Tragedie*, which repeats *Edward II.* more than once :—

> *Bel.* Is this the love thou bearst Horatio?
> Is this the kindness that thou counterfeits?
> Are these the fruits of thine incessant teares?
>
> IV. i. 1-3 (Boas).

Soliman and Perseda makes little or no attempt to disguise its thefts from Marlowe.

> *Soliman.* This face of thine shuld harbour no deceit.
>
> "Sol. and Pers.," III. i. 72 (Boas).

> *K. Edw.* Father, thy face should harbour no deceit.
>
> "Edward II," p. 210, col. 2.

> *Erastus.* My gratious Lord, whe[n] Erastus doth forget this favor,
> Then let him live abandond and forlorne.
>
> "Sol. and Pers.," IV. i. 198-9.

> *Q. Isab.* And when this favour Isabel forgets,
> Then let her live abandon'd and forlorn.—
>
> "Edward II," p. 191, col. 2.

> *Sol.* Ah heavens, that hitherto have smilde on me,
> Why doe you unkindly lowre on Solyman?
>
> "Sol. and Pers.," V. iv. 82-3.

> *K. Edw.* O my stars,
> Why do you lour unkindly on a king?
>
> "Edward II," p. 211, col. 2.

> *Haleb.* I say
> It is not meete that one so base as thou
> Shouldst come about the person of a King.
>
> "Sol. and Pers.," I. v. 70-2.

Y. Mort. I tell thee, 'tis not meet that one so false
Should come about the person of a prince.—
"Edward II," p. 216, col. 1.

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Finally, to show how intimately *Soliman and Perseda* and *Arden of Feversham* are related to each other, I quote the following. It will be seen that the former play follows Marlowe closely, whereas *Arden of Feversham* merely echoes him; yet, *Arden* repeats *Soliman and Perseda* phrasing which was not borrowed from *Edward II.*

K. Edw. I here create thee Lord High-chamberlain,
Chief Secretary to the state and me,
Earl of Cornwall, King and Lord of Man.
Gav. My lord, these titles far exceed my worth.
Kent. Brother, the least of these may well suffice
For one of greater birth than Gaveston.
"Edward II," p. 185, col. 1.

Sol. Thou shalt be Captaine of our Janisaries,
And in our Counsell shalt thou sit with us,
And be great Solimans adopted friend.
Erast. The least of these surpasse my best desart,
Unless true loyaltie may seeme desart.
"Sol. and Pers.," III. i. 98-102.

Thus in *Arden*:—

Alice. But my deserts or your desires decay,
Or both; *yet if true* love *may seem desert,*
I merit still to have thy company.
"Arden," IV. i. 17-19.

These borrowings from Marlowe tend to show that *Soliman and Perseda* is a little older, as regards com-

position, than *Arden of Feversham*; for it is an almost invariable rule that an imitator or borrower will copy his original more closely at first than afterwards. Besides, this conclusion harmonizes with known facts concerning the two plays and *Edward II*.

I will now, as briefly as possible, show that the vocabulary, phrasing, and general style of *Arden of Feversham* are those of Kyd, and that they cannot be mistaken for those of any other author of the time.

Holinshed pictures Black Will as a pitiless ruffian, "as murthering a knave as any is in England." But the historian never leads one to imagine that Will lacked animal courage. Quite the contrary. He says that all men went in fear of him, that his trade was murder, and all his speech blasphemy. He was a fearless and dangerous scoundrel, a villain whom one would walk miles to get clear of. Yet Kyd represents him as a mere bully, a cowardly boaster, a braggart who was always careful to preserve a whole skin. He murdered people, according to the play, when it was easy to do so, and when he could get safely away. In a word, the Black Will of *Arden of Feversham* is a second edition of Basilisco of *Soliman and Perseda*. Piston aptly describes Basilisco in a phrase: he was, he says, "the braginst knave in Christendom." We have seen that in Holinshed

Black Will is said to have been "as murthering a knave as any is in England." Piston's saying, slightly varied, is applied by Master Arden to Reede:—

> "It is the railingest knave in Christendom."
>
> "Arden," IV. iv. 54.

The hand that drew the picture of Basilisco pourtrayed the Black Will of *Arden* also, and this fact is written large in the two plays; and he did injustice to Holinshed's ruffian in order to make him resemble his own cowardly bully in *Soliman and Perseda*. A fair opportunity of comparing Black Will and Basilisco presents itself in *Arden*, V. i., and *Soliman and Perseda*, I. iii., especially in those parts of the scenes where the braggarts criticise the manner in which the sword or lance is handled.

> *Black Will.* When he should have lockt with both his hilts, &c.
>
> *Basilisco.* There launces were coucht too hie, &c.

But the plays as a whole must be consulted to make the resemblance more complete.

Then as regards Kyd's humour, a more perfect example of it is not to be discovered in any part of his work than in *Arden of Feversham*, IV. ii. This scene leaves us in no doubt as to its author, the "sporting Kyd" of Ben Jonson's verse. The scene forms a parallel to that part of *Soliman and Perseda*,

I. iv., where the Cryer enters. Note the argument in each play:—

Piston. —sixpence for crying a little wench of thirty years old and upwards, that had lost her selfe betwixt a taverne and a bawdie house.

Cryer. I, that was a wench, and this is Golde; she was poore, but this is rich.

Piston. Why then, by this reckoning, a Hackney man should have ten shillings for horsing a Gentlewoman, where he hath but ten pence of a begger.

Cryer. Why, and reason good: &c.

"Sol. and Pers.," I. iv. 78-86.

Ferryman. —but yet my wife has another moon.

Franklin. Another moon?

Ferry. Ay, and it hath influences and eclipses.

Arden. Why, then, by this reckoning you sometimes play the man in the moon?

Ferry. Ay, but you had not best to meddle with that moon, &c. "Arden," IV. ii. 26-32.

The peculiar turn of expression in the last speech also occurs in *Soliman and Perseda*:—

Basilisco. My pretty fellow, where hast thou hid thy maister?

Piston. Marrie, sir, in an Armorours shop, where *you bad not best* go to him. II. ii. 49-51.

Arden of Feversham echoes all parts of Kyd's work; and, therefore, it is a difficult thing to make choice of illustrations, there being such an abundance of material to substantiate his claim to the play. Take

one or two cases of similar phrasing and style that occur in *The Spanish Tragedie* as examples.

The dread which Black Will inspires in Michael is so great that the very thought of what the villain might do to him if he found him false causes him to cry out for help.

> *Franklin.* What dismal outcry calls me from my rest?
> *Arden.* What hath occasioned such a fearful cry?
> "Arden," III. i. 88-89.

Hieronimo tumbles out of bed in the same way when he hears the cries of Bel-imperia; and, rushing in the direction of the sound, exclaims,

> What out-cries pluck me from my naked bed, &c.
> II. v. 1.

In IV. iv. 108-10, Hieronimo harks back to the incident, but says it was his son's cry that he heard, although there is nothing in the previous scene to warrant the assertion. It was Bel-imperia who woke him, not Horatio. However, this time Hieronimo repeats *Arden* more closely than before:—

> He shrikes: I heard, and yet, me thinks, I heare
> His *dismall out-cry* echoe in the aire.

Many passages of *The Spanish Tragedie*, in different parts of the play, would have to be adduced to do justice to the following in *Arden*:—

> *Franklin.* What pity-moving words, what deep-fetch'd sighs,

R

What grievous groans and overlading woes
Accompanies this gentle gentleman!
Now will he shake his care-oppressed head,
Then fix his sad eyes on the sullen earth,
Ashamed to gaze upon the open world;
Now will he cast his eyes up towards the heavens,
Looking that ways for redress of wrong:
Sometimes he seeketh to beguile his grief
And tells a story with his careful tongue;
Then comes his wife's dishonour in his thoughts
And in the middle cutteth off his tale,
Pouring fresh sorrow on his weary limbs.
So woe-begone, so inly charged with woe,
Was never any lived and bare it so.

"Arden," III. i. 41-55.

That is precisely Kyd's style of describing persons "inly charged with woe." "Pouring fresh sorrow on his weary limbs," reminds one of *Soliman and Perseda*,

Erastus. And add fresh courage to my fainting limmes.

I. i. 52.

Compare Franklin's speech with one of Hieronimo's:

I, now I know thee, now thou namest thy Sonne:
Thou art the lively image of my griefe;
Within thy face my sorrowes I may see.
Thy eies are gum'd with teares, thy cheekes are wan,
Thy forehead troubled, and thy muttring lips
Murmure sad words abruptly broken off
By force of windie sighes thy spirit breathes;
And all this sorrow riseth for thy Sonne:
And selfe same sorrow feele I for my Sonne.

III. xiii. 160-68.

Another case of similarity of style occurs in the two plays, and in passages that display great beauty of expression :—

> *Shakebag.* Black night hath hid the pleasures of the day,
> And sheeting darkness overhangs the earth,
> And with the black fold of her cloudy robe
> Obscures us from the eyesight of the world,
> In which sweet silence such as we triumph.
>
> "Arden," III. ii. 1-5

> *Horatio.* Now that the night begins with sable wings
> To over-cloud the brightnes of the sunne,
> And that in darkenes pleasures may be done,
> Come, Bel-imperia, let us to the bower,
> And there in safetie passe a pleasant hower.
> . . . .
> And heavens have shut up day to pleasure us.
> The starres, thou seest, hold backe their twinckling shine,
> And Luna hides her selfe to pleasure us.
>
> "The Spanish Tragedie," II. iv. 1-19.

But it is to *Soliman and Perseda* that we must look for evidence of complete identity with *Arden of Feversham*, as regards words, expressions, figures of speech, and general style ; for these two plays must have been composed by Kyd much about the same time ; and works of the same date by the same writer invariably repeat each other more often than others that are separated by longer intervals of time.

Professor Boas and others have pointed out Kyd's frequent imitations of John Lyly, examples of which

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occur even in *John Brewen*, and in the letter which Kyd wrote to Sir John Puckering. Hence, we must not be surprised to find Lyly's similes and his Euphuistic mannerisms appearing also in *Arden of Feversham.* At the beginning of II. ii., Michael enters with a letter that is addressed to Susan, written by himself, and this letter he reads out on the stage. It is an imitation of Lyly throughout, except, perhaps, a phrase in the concluding sentence, which may have been suggested by Thomas Watson, whose work Kyd is known to have copied, especially in *The Spanish Tragedie*. The sentence reads thus:—

> "Thus hoping you will let my passions penetrate, or rather impetrate mercy of your meek hands, I end. Yours, *Michael*, or else not *Michael*."

Lyly's style and Watson's phrasing are blended in this conclusion:—

> And *let my passions penetrate* thy breast.
>
> Watson's "The Tears of Fancie," Sonnet 43.

> *Learchus.* But why broughtest thou me this letter?
>
> *Gunophilus.* Onely to certifie you that she was "in health, as I was at the bringing hereof. And thus being loth to trouble you, I commit you to God. Yours, as his owne, *Gunophilus*." "The Woman in the Moone," V. v.

Michael's letter opens thus:—

> "My duty remembered, Mistress Susan, hoping in God you be in good health, as I Michael was at the making hereof. This is to certify you that as the turtle true, when

she hath lost her mate, sitteth alone, so I, mourning for your absence, do walk &c." "Arden," II. ii.

Lyly's manner of presenting his similes, with its "as" and "so," his alliteration, and fondness for trivial metaphors are all travestied in Michael's letter. In *Soliman and Perseda*, Piston bears a chain, not a letter; but when he delivers the chain to Perseda for whom it was intended, he echoes Lyly and Michael in a speech :—

"After my most hearty commendations, this is to let you understand, that my maister was in good health at the sending hereof. Yours for ever, and ever, and ever, in most humble wise, *Piston*." II. ii. 4-8.

Lyly says,

—in no other manner standeth it with love, for to be secreate and not constant, or constant and not secret, were to builde a house of morter without stones, or a wall of stones without morter.

"Euphues and his England," Arber, p. 417, ll. 14-17.

Thus in *Arden of Feversham* :—

Mosbie. Why, what is love without true constancy?
Like to a pillar built of many stones,
Yet neither with good mortar well compact
Nor with cement to foster it in the joints.

. . . .

No, let our love be rocks of adamant,
Which time nor place nor tempest can asunder.

"Arden," 93-101.

In *Soliman and Perseda*, we find,

My thoughts are like pillers of Adamant.
IV. i. 99.

Answering the Cryer, who inquired the value of the chain he was carrying to Perseda, Piston declares,

"It was worth more then thou and all thy kin are worth."
"Sol. and Pers.," I. iv. 74.

and Shakebag, in *Arden*, tells Black Will that if he were to brag of all the booties he had taken, they

Would amount to a greater sum of money
Than either thou or all thy kin are worth.
Zounds, I hate them as I hate a toad, &c.
III. vi. 18-20.

The expression in the last line also occurs in *Soliman and Perseda* :—

Basilisco. See, see, Lucina hates me like a Toade.
III. ii. 27.

The bully in *Arden* says that gold

would steel soft-mettled cowardice,
With which Black Will was never tainted yet.
II. ii. 100-101.

a passage that parallels phrasing in *Soliman and Perseda* :—

Love never tainted Soliman till now.
II. i. 89.

Lucina. What ailes you, madam, that your colour changes?
Perseda. A sudden qualme; &c.
"Sol. and Pers.," II. i. 49-50.

Franklin. What ails you, woman, to cry so suddenly?
Alice. Ah, neighbours, a sudden qualm came o'er my heart.
"Arden," V. i. 308-9.

Alice. Ah me accursed
To link in liking with a frantic man!
"Arden," IV. i. 103-4.

Basilisco. And is she linkt in liking with my foe?
"Sol. and Pers.," IV. iii. 70.

Alice. Thou knowest how dearly Arden loved me.
Mosbie. And then?
Alice. And then—conceal the rest, for 'tis too bad.
"Arden," III. v. 61-63.

Piston. The rest I dare not speake, it is so bad.
"Sol. and Pers.," V. ii. 53.

Other cases of identical phrasing in *Soliman and Perseda* and *Arden of Feversham* are the following, which I will merely string together for comparison:

Sol. Down to everlasting night. *Ard.* Sent to everlasting night.
Sol. My true harts constancie. *Ard.* What is love without true constancy?
Sol. Then be not nice. *Ard.* Then be not nice.
Sol. Typhon me no Typhons. *Ard.* Plat me no platforms.
Sol. I shall have olde laughing. *Ard.* Here will be old filching.
Sol. Impose me task, how I may, &c. *Ard.* Impose me penance, and I, &c.
Sol. Leave protestations now, and, &c. *Ard.* Leave protestations now, and, &c.
Sol. A hot piece of service. *Ard.* About a piece of service.
Sol. You paltrie knave. *Ard.* You paltry knave.
Sol. Furrowes of her clowding brow. *Ard.* Furrows in his stormy brow.
Sol. (contemptuously) So slight a taske. *Ard.* (contemptuously) So slight a task.
Sol. Thou Aristippus like, didst, &c. *Ard.* We two, Ovid-like, have, &c.

Sol. If wilfull folly did not blind mine eyes. *Ard.* What folly blinded thee?

Sol. Bridle the fond intemperance of thy tongue. *Ard.* Bridle thine envious tongue.

Sol. To seal up their loves. *Ard.* Seal up this new-made match.

Sol. And sugred kisse. *Ard.* With a sugared kiss.

Sol. Cloud compacted braine. *Ard.* My moody brain.

Sol. Vengeance light on me. *Ard.* Vengeance light on me.

Sol. Can forge alluring lookes. *Ard.* To forge distressful looks.

Sol. To check thy fraudfull countenance with a blush. *Ard.* Check the tender blossoms. A wicked fraudful smile.

Sol. Wherein may we pleasure thee? *Ard.* Wherein haply thou mayest pleasure me.

Sol. Great ease it were for me to purge my selfe. *Ard.* Nor will I be convinced or purge myself.

Sol. Whom honors title forst me to misdoe. *Ard.* That honour's title nor, &c.

Sol. Or dominere with the money. *Ard.* Domineer'd with it amongst good fellows.

Sol. Drive away this melancholly moode. *Ard.* Leave this melancholy mood.

Sol. My swolne harts greef. *Ard.* Witness my heart's grief, *rep.*

Sol. Will pay you both your sound delight. *Ard.* Soundly fee'd to pay him home.

Sol. Then stab the slave. *Ard.* Stab the slave.

Sol. Feare of servile death, thats but a sport. *Ard.* Will murder me to make him sport.

Sol. Peace, foole. *Ard.* Peace, fool.

Sol. For what is misery but want of God? *Ard.* For what is life but love?

Sol. Guerdon with large promises. *Ard.* Fair words and large promises.

Sol. Thrust his sickle in my harvest corne. *Ard.* Thrust his sickle in our corn.

Sol. Under colour of great consequence. *Ard.* A matter of great consequence.

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Sol. See you handle it cunningly. *Ard.* See you do it cunningly.
Sol. I heere protest by heavens. *Ard.* I protest to thee by heaven.
Sol. Be it spoke in secret heere. *Ard.* Be it spoken in secret here.
Sol. Filthie lust. *Ard.* Filthy lust.
Sol. Least he detect us unto the world. *Ard.* The peasant will detect the tragedy.
Sol. My nightly dreames foretould me this. *Ard.* Oftentimes my dreams presage too true.—To such as note their nightly fantasies, &c.
Sol. To leade a Lambe unto the slaughter-house. *Ard.* Do lead thee with a wicked fraudful smile, as unsuspected, to the slaughter-house. *Sol.* Thy fraudfull countenance.
Sol. Life is as a glasse, and a phillip may cracke it. *Ard.* A fillip on the nose.
Sol. The hour of death. *Ard.* The hour of death.
Sol. Shall follow thee, with eager moode, &c. *Ard.* Seizeth on the prey with eager mood.
Sol. Haughtie pride. *Ard.* Haughty pride.

Need I say again that the vocabulary and phraseology of *Arden of Feversham* and *Soliman and Perseda* are identical? But it may be objected that the very complete manner in which one play parallels the language of the other, is an argument against the Kyd authorship of *Arden*. For answer, I point to the testimony of *John Brewen*, and to the probabilities of the case. And, besides, such an objection is out of court now. I present an entirely new case for consideration, and have no fear of the ultimate verdict. If objectors think that Kyd does not repeat himself, as I allege, let them institute a close com-

parison between *Soliman and Perseda* and *The Spanish Tragedie*; and I promise them they will find quite as many, and sometimes closer, correspondences between those two plays than any I have adduced from Kyd in this paper. A common statement to be met with in editions of men's works is, "Nobody repeats himself so much as So-and-so." I used to think that such statements were true; but independent inquiry has shattered these old idols of the den. All men repeat themselves, both in speech and writing, and it is these repetitions that go to make up what is termed "style." But all men do not repeat each other as Kyd repeats Marlowe: that kind of repetition we dub "plagiary." A man's vocabulary is the surest test by which he can be judged, for no author can jump out of his own language into that of another without betraying himself. His other work will condemn him, and vindicate the wronged party at the same time. It only means the exercise of much patience and minute inquiry to know "which is which." The proof lies before us here: the parallels from Marlowe and Lyly are of an entirely different character from those I have adduced from Kyd himself. I assert, then, that Kyd is the author of *Arden of Feversham*, and that he must have composed the play about the end of 1591 or the beginning of 1592, just after *Soliman and Perseda* was written or revised.

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